

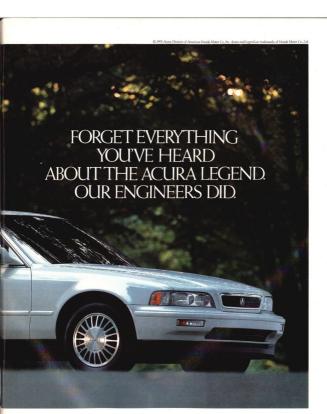
U.S. CAMPUSES: The New Intolerance

Law and Disorder

Why cops turn violent



Being an Acura engineer requires a very strong mind. A very vivid imagination. And, perhaps most important, a very short memory. After all, had our engineers dwelled on all the praise given to the first-generation Legend—making Car and Driver's Ten Best list three straight years and being named Motor Trends 1987 Import Car of the Year—they might have been content to give the 1991 Legend just a few minor improvements. Instead, they started from scratch. And gave



the new Legend a longitudinally mounted, 200-horsepower, 3.2-liter V-6. A redesigned double-wishbone suspension that improves handling and road feel. And a more ergonomic interior, with driver's side and available passenger's side air bags. Improvements that, along with hundreds of others, make the new Legend more mem-



TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

NATION: Law and disorder on the beat

Patrolling the mean streets can be a dangerous and dehumanizing task for police officers. Drawing the line between necessary force and deliberate brutality is perhaps the toughest part of the job.

► Community-policing programs are putting cops back on the sidewalk.

BUSINESS: Deceit

pervaded an audacious global bank that touched Jimmy Carter and Manuel Noriega, among others. 54

IDEAS: A troubling number of teachers regard America's

history as racist, sexist and classist. 66

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FROM THE PUBLISHER

nvestigative reporter. The words conjure up grizzled newsmen in dark trench coats meeting at midnight with "Deep Throat" sources. As professional journalists know, such glamorous notions are seldom accurate. Yet for TIME correspondents Jonathan Beaty and Sam Gwynne, who together unearthed and wrote last month's story on the scandal engulfing the Bank of Credit & Commerce International and this week's special report on the B.C.C.I. as well, the reality of chasing the yarn was as thrilling as the best detective fiction

The story began in February while Beaty was having dinner with a trusted source in San Francisco. When the source mentioned possible illegal activities involving the B.C.C.I., Beaty immediately sensed a potential big story. "I was scribbling it all down on cocktail napkins, to the point where I had to keep asking the waiter for more napkins," Beaty recalls. "It first seemed unbelievable, but then almost all of it turned out to be true

As the complexity and scope of the scandal became apparent, Beaty asked Detroit bureau chief Gwynne, a former banker and the author of Selling Money, a book about the international debt crisis, to become the other half of a reporting-writing team. Gwynne talked to federal regulatory agencies and banking sources in the U.S., while Beaty followed the B.C.C.I. paper trail to Atlanta, where he interviewed Bert Lance, and London, where he paid a visit to Scotland Yard. At the same time, TIME correspondents in bureaus around the world were tracking down leads in 11 countries, often going at several simultaneously. "This is by far the most exciting story I've ever worked on," says Gwynne. "It seemed as though every door we opened led down yet another bizarre trail.'



"The story first seemed unbelievable, but then almost all of it turned out to be true."

Beaty got the same exhilaration from orchestrating the worldwide effort. "Investigative reporting is usually a rather lonely job," he says, "But in this case, because it was a truly global story, we were calling on our correspondents around the world."

When he was finally finished with the story, Jonathan pulled on his dark blue overcoat and headed out into the night. It seems the modern global electronic investigative journalist doesn't own a trench coat

Robert L Miller.

A Short Quiz for America's Executives

1. Would you like to help disadvantaged young people get an education-and a job? ☐ YES ☐ NO

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LETTERS

LIBERATION OF KUWAIT

"Let's hope the U.S. can stand proud without getting cocky."

Anne Carter Brandywine, Md.



We should move quickly to alleviate the suffering of Iraq and Kuwait [The Gu.F WAR, March 11]. The U.S. as a nation must address its responsibility. Seventeen million Iraqis—civilians and soldiers—had absolutely no role in Saddam Hussein's decision to attack and brutalize the people of another nation, yet they are the blameless victims of President George Bush's actions to liberate Kwase to liberate Kwase

Doug Thompson

Sadly, sanctions do not always work. Then someone has to have the courage to tell a tyrant "Enough!" or we will find ourselves with nothing to live for. Congratulations to Bush for telling Saddam "Enough!" and in the process braving publications of the continuous to the continuous of the continuous

Jose Antonio M. Lanuza Diakarta

The justification for the loss of tens of thousands of lives and billions of dollars in destroyed property was that the U.S. needed to demonstrate to the world that aggression is not a successful strategy. Unfortunately, the real message was that force gets you what you want. Our military "victory" is a setback in the long-term struggle to lessen beligerency in our world.

Hood River, Ore.

To those who advocate peace at any price: it's easy to appease the tiger—just let him devour you.

Marie Ottiker

Now that the adrenaline level has peaked and those gnawing doubts are back, let's hope the U.S. can stand proud without getting cocky. It would be easy to slip into the role of world bully in the name of morality. We should remind ourselves that this time luck was on our side.

Anne Carter Brandywine, Md.

I wonder if some small part of Desert Storm's overwhelming triumph wasn't a result of our soldiers' clear heads, thanks to the absence of alcohol and drugs.

Jeanne Hewitt Harker Heights, Texas

Oil's well that ends well

Bill Heath

Boise

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf is a genuine hero. He meets every requirement for an American patriot. I pray that he will

remain outside the political arena.

Anne B. Johnson

Stockton, Ill.

Bush's 1988 campaign alienated me totally. But if Bush can become one-tenth the leader in domestic affairs that he has proved to be in the gulf crisis, I'll put the animosity aside and yote for him in '92.

Bill Sanders Tustin, Calif.

I am not proud that Americans were sent to the other side of the world and had to kill others. But I am proud that they were brave enough to go, and thankful that these men and women are coming home.

Ric Berrong Portland, Ore.

Israel didn't lose the war; Iraq did. Give the P.L.O. and its "dispossessed" a home in Iraq, for heaven's sake.

Ginni Brown

Ginni Brown Fort Myers Beach, Fla.

Correction

Our article "A Man You Could Do Business With" [THE GULF WAR, March 11], which gave a brief overview of U.S. relations with Iraq, reported that Iowa Senator Charles E. Grassley attended a meeting in Baghdad with Saddam Hussein in April 1990. He did not.

Messages for the Media

Those who criticize the media for reporting from Baghdad have a limited magniation [The GULP War, March 1]. Pool journaists who attended briefings heard military-information specialists describe smart bombs hitting bridges, communications centes and unks, and then munications centes and unks, and then numications centes and unks, and then public. It's viewers saw the centered ascounts from Baghdad that showed the results of "dumb" bombs that hit shopping areas, partners and buses. The two versions taken together gave us a more complete truth. We should be grateful.

Clarence Albers Valparaiso, Ind.

There seems to have been a conspiracy of silence on the part of the media regarding casualties in the gulf war. How many thousands of women and children were killed or wounded in allied bombing raids?

Michael P. Chew Stuttgart, Germany

You curiously neglect to mention that the media are owned by private, profit-driven corporations. They need to sell merchandise, but they shouldn't use the First Amendment as a marketing tool. Too often, the images and articles meant to sitr powerful emotions are those getting the biggest play. Pardon us if we don't blindly accept that the TV producer and print editor will present a balanced picture of the property of the property of the profit of the property of the proper

Pearl Furman San Francisco

How's this for the newest oxymoron: respected journalist.

Clifford Henkle Merced, Calif.

Don't Knock the Doors?

Rock star Jim Morrison's style may have been pretentious, as your critic Richard Corliss suggests in his review of the movie The Doors [CINEMA, March 11], but his group's music was not. The Doors' compositions, extremely complex with beautiful harmony, show absolute genius. The true reason for their success and continued popularity: their music.

Michael Wedell Kolding, Denmark

The songs of Herman's Hermits, Paul Revere and the Raiders, the Monkees and the Bee Gees were all negligible, but for Corliss to say the Doors were musically "close to negligible" is inane.

Alan W. Stark Concord, Calif.

Quick, do you know the first name in microprocessors?



LETTERS

Morrison was another garden-variety drunk, and his fans (including me) bought into his alcoholic drama. If *The Doors* is a provocative and flawed movie, the same can be said of Morrison's life: it ended without redemption.

Jon C. Slade Pasadena, Calif.

The Punishing Cult of Beauty

I was interested in your story "The Bad Side of Looking Good" describing Naomi Wolf's book. The Beauty Myth [IDEA, March 4], but I found her thesis that "discussions of feminine beauty are actually about undermining women's schievements" to be antediluvian and anti-male. Any woman who feels this way is obviously not as secure with her own femininity as men are about her accomplishments.

Philip Marques Voorhees, N.J.

One of my personal beroines, Besty Friedan, who dismissed Wolft book man in "bobon," and will be the point. Friedan's cents to have need an "bobon are on both and me the point. Friedan's endorsement of enjoying fashion without becoming a slave to its mot what has brought women anorexia, nose jobs for graduation presents or an ideal of physical perfection so bizarre that even skinny models believe they have fat thight. I think Wolf's suggestion for women to eschew cosmetics in favor of better as the started as on the rand to liberation, Wolf is obviously pointing out some reasons why we have not yet arrived.

Mary Jeanne Hawes Mission Hills, Kans.

If all the men were suddenly beamed up to Jupiter, do you suppose that somen you to Jupiter, do you suppose that somen would still rat their hair, paint their fases and wear horrid, see-through, push-er ments? I don't think so. At 5f. 9 in, weight pain in at 10 lbs, with waist-length adum hair, I am not all that hard to look at. Consequently, I find, as did Wolf, that most of my achievements are attributed to my achievements and which are also all the second that the second that the second the second that the second that

Trischa Armstrong Santa Ana, Calif.

Child-Abuse Charges

Your title "Why Children Lie in Court" was misleading [BEHAVIOR, March 4]. Most experts think children rarely lie about sexual abuse. Researchers have found that only 1% to 2% of sexual-abuse allegations made by children are false. In fact, studies show that almost 75% of children initially deny valid allegations of sexual-abuse.

al victimization. The vast majority of false charges are made by adults. A more appropriate title for your piece would have been: "Why Adults Lie in Court."

Gina B. Hardin Child Protection Team Gainesville, Fla.

In his article, Jerome Cramer mentioned a study I conducted with Dr. Karen Saywitz and others on children's reports of genital contact, but he failed to highlight the fact that the children's most common error by far was underreporting genital touch. Only by asking direct questions did we get them to reveal that a physician had touched their genitals. In general, they were highly resistant to suggestions of abuse. None of the studies cited by Cramer prove that children often make unfounded sex-abuse charges or that prosecutors prod them to lie in court. We do need to protect innocent adults from false allegations and take care when interviewing child witnesses; we have been learning over the years how best to conduct valid interviews. But it has been society's bent to doubt rather than believe sex-crime victims.

Gail S. Goodman, Ph.D. Associate Professor of Psychology State University of New York at Buffalo

As the author of the book Wounded Innocents, which deals with the war against child abuse, I believe Cramer's report should be required reading for child-protection officials and judges. It sheds light on a topic where, until now, there has been mostly heat. The insistence that children don't lie about sexual abuse is part of the larger hysteria over child maltreatment. One study found that in 23% of sexualabuse cases the accusation was false and that in an additional 24% there was insufficient information to determine the truth Often false allegations result not from lies but from honest misunderstandings. But investigating these accusations can traumatize thousands of children. Frequently, they are needlessly separated from their parents and thrust into a chaotic fostercare system, where they may face assault rape or even murder. The problem of child abuse is serious and real. It is the solutions that have been phony.

Richard Wexler Albany

Your story says that a study conducted by the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry "found that in custody disputes involving charges of sex abuse, as many as 36% of the allegations were later proved to be untrue." The academy does not conduct clinical studies. The the academy's centrific journal by an author who had documented four false allegations in the case of 11 children reported

to have been sexually abused by soncustional parents in the context of shid custody and svistation disputes. This finding—four of 11 children—was the basis for the 36% figure. By applying it as a generalization, Cramer makes an error with potentially terrible implications for children who read that the second state of the control of t

John E. Schowalter, M.D. President, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Washington

It Was Just Like . . .

Military buffs among our readers reached back in history to find parallels to the battle for the liberation of Kuwait, William Phillis of Northville, Mich., commented that "the concealed flank movement used so effectively by General Norman Schwarzkopf was employed 128 years ago by another great American general, Robert E. Lee, who commanded the Confederate troops at Chancellorsville, Va. Lee divided his army in the face of a numerically superior force, marched around the Union right flank and attacked with stunning success. One eyewitness described how the Union army 'fled in the wildest confusion, leaving the field strewn with arms, accoutrements, clothing, caissons and field pieces." A precedent for the low number of deaths among the attacking forces was noted by **Edmond Francis McGill of San Rafael** Calif., in the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. McGill recalled, "The Athenian army of 11,000 utterly defeated the larger Persian army, inflicting thousands of casualties upon the Persians and losing only 192 of its own."

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CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS. Compiled by William Tynan



MOVIES

KING RALPH. John Goodman is the Ralph Kramden of the '90s-but he enjoys being a slob. Have fun watching him raise a royal ruckus as a Las Vegas lounge singer who unaccountably becomes King of England. Writer-director David Ward sustains this merry, guileless fable with near perfect pitch.

THE HARD WAY. It's not just cars that collide in John Badham's exhilarating action comedy. It's fantasy vs. reality, laid-back movie actor vs. angry cop, the easy readings of Michael J. Fox vs. the bust-a-bloodvessel intensity of James Woods-in short, it's L.A. vs. N.Y.



TWIN PEAKS (ABC, returning March 28, 9 p.m. EST). From breakthrough hit to waning cult phenomenon in barely a year. David Lynch's chronicle of life in the mysterious northwest returns for what may be its final six-episode run.

HOUSE OF CARDS (PBS, debuting March 31, 9 p.m. on most stations). A Tory insider (Ian Richardson) plots to eliminate his rivals in a post-Thatcher government. This four-part Masterpiece Theater import, based on a novel written before Maggie's demise, is the savviest political drama since A Very British Coup.

CTV: THE COMEDY NETWORK (starting April 1), Two struggling cable channels-the Comedy Channel and HA!pool their laughs and launch a new network. Happily, they've salvaged Mystery Science Theater 3000.



MUSIC

MARY CHAPIN-CARPENTER: SHOOTING STRAIGHT IN THE

DARK (Columbia). In this exceptional country-and-western debut, Carpenter sounds almost too fragile for the genre; but her lyrics have a poignancy that's positively resilient, and her tunes are gossamer.

CHARLES ROSEN PLAYS

CHOPIN (Globe). Rosen has been the victim of his own encyclopedic brilliance. Because he's so gifted a musicologist, linguist and aesthetician, critics invariably dismiss his piano playing as too "cerebral." Yet the warmth, elasticity and insight he brings to these 24 mazurkas, the richest expression of Chopin's genius, should put such nonsense to rest.



THEATER

A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN. Virginia Woolf's feminist manifesto breathes life, and fire, in Eileen Atkins' superb onewoman show off-Broadway.

FORGIVING TYPHOID MARY. Oscar winner Estelle Parsons stars in a thoughtful dramacum-history-lesson at the George Street Playhouse in New Brunswick, N.J.



ROOKS

SCUM by Isaac Bashevis Singer (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$19.95). The Nobel laureate turns in a typically rollicking,

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hectic tale about a man who returns to his native Poland in 1906 looking for affectionate women. He finds plenty, or perhaps they find him.

WAR FEVER by J.G. Ballard (Farrar, Straus & Giroux: \$18.95). These 14 odd, unsettling tales again prove that Ballard, widely known as a writer of science fiction, is really a surrealist. Once viewed through his prose, the world seems a strangely differ-



THE WEST AS AMERICA: REINTERPRETING IMAGES OF THE FRONTIER, 1820-1920, National Museum of American Art, Washington. For Manifest Destiny, the positive perception of the American frontier was the greatest advertisement for going West.

ings, sculptures, graphics and photographs explores the effect such imagery had and the misconceptions it spread. Through July 7.

BRITISH PHOTOGRAPHY FROM THE THATCHER

YEARS, Museum of Modern Art, New York City. Mean pictures of a mean place, taken by five photographers whose cameras were loaded with acid. A blistering portrait of years during which the haves had it all, the have-nots did not, and parts of England's green and lovely land were as bleak as tar pits. Through April 28.



NEW ORLEANS JAZZ AND HERITAGE FESTIVAL. More than 3,000 artists gather in the Crescent City for one of the world's greatest celebrations of jazz, blues, R. and B.,

Zydeco and gospel music, headlined by Miles Davis B.B. King, John Lee Hooker, Wynton Marsalis, Harry Connick Jr. and the Neville Brothers. April 26 through May 5.

DANCE THEATER OF HARLEM. After a six-month layoff, this splendid troupe is back at Washington's Kennedy Center. The dancers are on an Alberto Ginastera kick. with two premieres set to the Argentine composer's scores, one by Billy Wilson, the other by Glen Tetley. March 26 through April 7.

KOSHER VINTAGES

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE JEWISH-to paraphrase a once popular rye-bread ad-to enjoy kosher wines these days. Yes. those heavy, sweet, cut-it-with-a-knife concoctions made from Concord grapes are still around, but they now share shelf space with a growing array of dry, sophisticated table wines, from Sonoma County Chardonnays to Italian Chiantis, that may be certified kosher for Passover but are eminently drinkable all year. Kosher wines must be made by Sabbath-observant Jews under rabbinical supervision to ensure that nothing forbidden by dietary laws contaminates the process. The best can match their nonkosher counterparts in competitions. The March 31 issue of the Wine Spectator, surveying 54 kosher wines, notes that California Cabernet Sauvignons by Hagafen and Gan Eden scored 91 and 90 (out of 100) in blind tastings. The Herzog-label California and European varietals are usually reliable. A newcomer to watch is Teal Lake Cellars: its 1990 Mendocino Pinot Noir has the youthful brightness of a Beaujolais.





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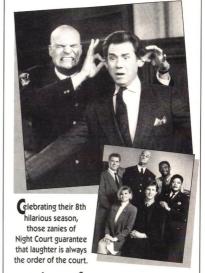
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To IRS: Hands Off The Rich

Revenge is a dish best served cold-and on White House china. While drafting its recently submitted budget, the Bush Administration secretly proposed that the IRS target its stringent audits not on wealthy individuals and companies (whose lawyers can often stall a case for vears) but on middle- and lower-income taxpavers (who generally pay up without protest and provide immediate revenue). IRS Commissioner Fred Goldberg rejected the cashnow plan, calling it "no-good tax policy." But his request to spend an additional \$76 million to catch rich tax cheats was pared down to a puny \$6 million. Could it be that the President remembers the pain of coughing up to the taxman? He was furious when an IRS audit in 1984 forced him to pay nearly \$200,000 in taxes, interest and penalties on the sale of an \$843,000 house in Houston. In 1988 George Bush ridiculed Michael Dukakis' plan to catch more tax avoiders and railed against "putting an IRS agent in every kitchen." What he really meant, it seems, is that he didn't want a taxman in every boardroom.

Stop Us Before We Vote Again

Last year all 55 Democratic Senators voted as one in a failed attempt to override President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act. So what's holding up Ted Kennedy from introducing a new version of the bill this year? The problem: a mini-rebellion by at least half a dozen first-term Senators who

are up for re-election and terrified that Republican challengers will smear them for supporting "racial quotas." Chuck Robb of Virginia, chairman of the Democratic campaign committee, confirms that he is "working with several people for a bill that can get signed." Translation: the vulnerable legislators are agitating for a compromise bill that's closer to the White House version than the measure endorsed by the Democratic leadership. The endangered Democrats cite a recent series of polls indicating that a majority of the public resents any law that is perceived as establishing strong preferences for minority groups.

There's No Place Like Jail

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TIME APRIL 1 1991

EUROPE via Utopia

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WELCOME TO Le CLUB

WHOM BUSINESS TRAVEL
means getting to a destination, simple
as that, No expectations, No romance. No more
enchantment than life at the office. Then, there
are those who've discovered that the journey can be an
interlule from the corporate world. A sanctuary from
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choice of three exquisite meals, the delighful creations of
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For complete Le Club information, call your travel agent, or 1-800-AF-PARIS. We promise only to indulge you in every way possible. Even if we have to go out of our way to do it.

THE FINE ART



To IRS: Hands Off The Rich

Revenge is a dish best served cold-and on White House china. While drafting its recently submitted budget, the Bush Administration secretly proposed that the IRS target its stringent audits not on wealthy individuals and companies (whose lawyers can often stall a case for years) but on middle- and lower-income taxpayers (who generally pay up without protest and provide immediate revenue). IRS Commissioner Fred Goldberg rejected the cashnow plan, calling it "no-good tax policy." But his request to spend an additional \$76 million to catch rich tax cheats was pared down to a puny \$6 million. Could it be that the President remembers the pain of coughing up to the taxman? He was furious when an IRS audit in 1984 forced him to pay nearly \$200,000 in taxes, interest and penalties on the sale of an \$843,000 house in Houston. In 1988 George Bush ridiculed Michael Dukakis' plan to catch more tax avoiders and railed against "putting an IRS agent in every kitchen." What he really meant, it seems, is that he didn't want a taxman in every boardroom

Stop Us Before We Vote Again

Last year all 55 Democratic Senators voted as one in a failed attempt to override President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act. So what's holding up Ted Kennedy from introducing a new version of the bill this year? The problem: a mini-rebellion by at least half a dozen first-term Senators who

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COVER STORIES

Rough Justice

After the outrage in Los Angeles, police find themselves on trial as Americans are worried that some officers may be going too far—much too far—in the midst of a brutal and brutalizing war

By LANCE MORROW

Every city has a kind of evil win that looks like Beirut.
This shadows elf is the city sown hypothetical disintegration, the awful promise of what will happen when the worst transpires. Civilization will come unstuck.
Amarchy will break loose at last and weeds push up through the concrete, and the police will degenerate to a paramilitary tribe at war with other gangs that go howling through the wastelands like road warriors.

The bad dream contains a few jagged particles of truth. On American cities have come to look dangerously like their anti-selves: debts deepening, revenues inadequate, services falling apart, people sleeping in the streets, crime and drugs creating their elaborate, permanent reality.

As for the armed tribes, they have been at war for some time, though not in the better neighborhoods. They put in an appearance not long ago on a home videotape that a bystander made as the Los Angeles police were beating a motorist to be had run to ground after a chase. Here was the lawlessness that the nightmare predicts: video, grainy, surrens.

Watching the videotape, thinking about the other policebrutality cases—the alleged fatal choking of a suspected car thief by five of New York City's finest, for example—Americans felt degrees of wonder, horror or, in some cases, disgust at

the news media for undermining the police.

The lasting reaction, besides outrage of one kind or another, may have been a sense of being in the presence of a mystery. "Nothing human is alien to me," Terence said, but this gross, offhand brutality, dealt out by guardians of the law, seemed alien enough and disturbing on a fairly deep emotional and moral level.

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Into beating on the videotape goes on for long minutes, the suspect-victim unarmed, unresisting, crousched on the ground, the police not acting on some lashing impulse of the moment, but seeming desultory and methodical at the same time. Cops stroll around. It looks like an impromptu social occasion. There is future shock and also an odd familiarity in the

scene: it has some of the feel of a Southern lynching—an American throwback migrated to La La Land.

The mystery is always this: How does a group of otherwise normal people turn into a mob capable of this kind of savage-

ry? One of the police officers who did the beating was described as a gentle family man.

The question has dimensions that are both social and personal. In Freudian terms, the law is supposed to perform the function of the superego, policing the wild and violent id. The



Beirut principle goes to work when the id takes over from the superego and puts on a blue uniform, when authority goes wild.

Most American police are decent men and women doing honorable service. It is partly for that reason that the transformation from group to mob, as in Los Angeles, is hard to understand. But the dangerous work that they do, for modest salaries, is also brutalizing. The American homicide rate has jumped from 5 per 100,000 population in 1960 to 9 per 100,000 in 1989. In big cities two-thirds of felony defendants have been arrested before, and about half of them had at least one prior conviction. Drug gangs are often armed with automatic weapons more lethal than the handguns the police carry. A career of confronting the vicious, conscienceless criminal-enemy frays the nerves. It drives police officers deeper into the solidarities of their professional tribe. There they find the support and understanding that they feel they rarely get elsewhere. The public, they think, prefers its innocence, does not really want to know the violent lengths to which cops sometimes go when trying to enforce the law.

George Kelling, a professor of criminal justice at North-

eastern University, suggests that the terms "war on crime" and "war on drugs" encourage and even demand an all-out attack by police upon criminals—no holding back, no quater given. But like American soldiers in Vietnam, the police are fighting an unwinnable war, assuming large social responsibilities that belong more to politicians than to policemen; and as in Vietnam, attocities are being committed, on both sides.

A group has a life of its own that is far more than, and bizarrely different from, the sum of the individuals in it. The group belongs to a different moral order from the individual. It has its appetites and impulses, its voice, its collective will and emotions and personality. It has a mind of its own that can be frightening and inexpleadse, like a domesticated animal, a pit bull or rottweller, that may turn unpredictably vicious, attacking the childrent, doing wild-animal things no one could not be the control of the control of the children of th

An individual's judgment, ordinarily sound and self-aware, may defer to the collective judgment in a group, where individual responsibility gets diffused, scattered among the many. Says R. Scott Tindale, associate professor of psychology at Chi-

cago's Loyola University: normal circumstances, when you are deciding what to do, you have internal standards to check. When you are in a group setting, when you are less self-focused, you don't check these inner standards. You are more likely to check the standards around vou." It takes a strong, poised character to wade against the currents of group will. Those cops who witnessed the Los Angeles beating, not participating but not objecting either, allowed themselves to be borne passively along by the stream of violence. Something of the same process may have occurred among the teenagers who went "wilding" in New York City's Central Park two vears ago.

A secret of the transformation from group to mobe a few leaders incite the rest, knotting the rope. The others allow themselves to be carried passively by the group purpose. Lynch mobs always armor themselves with a sense of their retributive righteousness. They also mean to exert social control by exemplary doses of terror, on the conceit that violence is the only

language the victim understands. Each attrocity has its own circumstances, its own atmosphere and triggers, its tribal antipathies and peer-group expectations. It is interesting that the one police officer who expressed some objection during the Los Angeles beating was a woman—a member of the LAAPL. She was not entirely part of the men's club that was doing the pounding.

Drug bust in Opa-Locka, Fla.: Is it necessary force or brutality?





Law and Disorder

For cops, fear and frustration are constants. Sometimes even the best of them snap under the pressure.

By RICHARD LACAYO

To watch the videotape of Los Angeles policemen kicking and clubbing kondry King was to suddenly explore a dark corner of American life. For many police officers who fear that the incident could undermine their image of cool professionalism, the case quickly became an occasion for dismay, soul searching and

an occasion for dismay, soul searching and a measure of defensiveness. For many citizens, particularly blacks and other minorities, it brought back bitter memories of

their own rough encounters with police. George Bush bluntly summarized the prevailing shock; "What I saw made me sick."

The sickening glare from that grish seen has thrown light upon police brutality all across the country. Was the beating an aberration, as Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates insists? Or did it affirm yet again that many cops resort to violence, and even deadly force, when no threat to their safety can justify it? Is rates no pervasive among police that the fight agains no pervasive among police that the fight agains so pervasive that the property of the pro

which permits too many criminals to go free after serving only token sentences or none at all, become so ineffectual that officers feel the need to play judge and jury on the spot? Has police work become so dangerous that even well-meaning officers can snap under the pressure?

snap under the pressure:

Those questions became more urgent last week as evidence grew that the officers involved in King's beating might have expected their behavior to be winked at, at least in their own department. In tapes of radio calls and computer records of police communications on the night of the attack.



Police chief Daryl Gates testifying this week before the Los Angeles city council about the beating of Rodney King, above

some of the officers involved could be heard wasping racist jokes and boasting to other cops about the beating. Their lighthearted exchanges, which they knew were being recorded, sound nothing like the words of men who fear they have done something enter the red of the properties of the ordinary. Two nurses at Pacifica Hospital, where King was taken after the beating, testified to a grand jury last week that the officers who assaulted King showed up later at the hospital Toom to taunt him. One allegedly told the victim, "We played a little harballs lornight, and

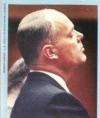
In the eyes of many outraged citizens in Los Angeles and elsewhere, responsibility for the beating rests with Chief Gates. Though he has rebuffed demands that he resign, a citizens' group last week began a push for a special election to undo what practically amounts to his lifetime appointment as leader of the nation's kird largest police department. Almost unique among police chiefs, Gates cannot be dismissed by Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, himself a former LaAD. Bieutenant, or by a former peaker commission, exercise police cheefs commission, even of the commission of the property of the commission continued to willful neglect of dury.

Los Angeles is far from the only place where police play hardball, dispensing curbside justice with disturbing regularity. especially in crime-plagued ghetto neighborhoods and to people whose only offense is the color of their skins. Those who live outside such areas can usually ignore that reality. Fed up with violent street crime, they are often content to send in the police force and demand that it do whatever is necessary while they look the other way. But the Los Angeles beating has shaken such head-in-the-sand attitudes. A spate of brutality cases that normally would have attracted little attention made national news last week:

▶ In New York City five officers were indicted on murder charges in the Feb. 5 death by suffocation of a 21-year-old Hispanic man suspected of car theft. The officers were accused of having hit, kicked and choked Federico Pereira while he lay face down and perhaps hog-tied—his wrists cuffed behind his back while another set of cuffs bound his hands to one ankle.

► In Memphis a black county sheriff was convicted Friday of violating civil rights laws in the June 1989 choking death of Michael Gates, 28, a black drug suspect. Gates' body was covered with bruises in the shape of shoe prints.

▶ In Plainfield, N.J., 50 people demonstrained outside police headquarters, charging that a policeman beat Uriah Hannah, a Hayar-old blake, Last Sunday Hannah and his friends were playing with a remote-controlled toy car on a sidewalk near his home. A motorist stopped short at the spot where the boys were playing, and a police cruiser ran into the rear of his car. Hannah's parans, whose older son allegedly committed



Police Sergeant Stacey Koon was one of four officers charged with felony assault



Rookie Timothy Wind, 30, joined the L.A. force just last year



Officers Ted Briseno, right, and Laurence Powell arrive at court

MARCH 3, 12-39 A.M. AFTER BREAKING UP A QUARREL THAT REPORTEDLY, INVOLVED BLACKS, LOS ANGELES POLICEMEN LAURENCE M. POWELL AND TIMOTHY E. WIND USE THEIR PORTABLE COMMUNICATIONS COMPUTER TO CONTACT A TEAM OF OFFICERS ON A BURGLARY STAKEOUT:

44 Sounds almost exciting as our last call . . . It was right out of Gorillas in the Mist. #7

THE STAKEOUT TEAM REPLIES

44 Hahahaha . . . let me guess who be the parties.

12-47 A.M. THE POLICE RADIO
DISPATCHER ALERTS NEARBY SQUAD
CARS THAT THE CALIFORNIA HIGHWAY
PATROL IS PURSUING A WHITE
HYUNDAI AT HIGH SPEED, MINUTES
LATER POWELL AND WIND HELP
APPREHEND THE DRIVER AND TWO
PASSENGERS

12:56 A.M. L.A.P.D. SERGEANT STACEY C. KOON NOTIFIES THE NIGHT WATCH COMMANDER ATTHE FOOTHILL POLICE HEADQUARTERS THAT ONE SUSPECT HAS BEEN BEATEN BY THE ARRESTING OFFICERS:

44 You just had a bigtime use of force...

THE WATCH COMMANDER REPLIES:

44 Oh well . . . I'm sure the lizard didn't deserve it . . . haha.

1:12 A.M. POWELL AND WIND HAVE ANOTHER COMPUTER CHAT WITH THEIR FRIENDS ON THE BURGLARY STAKEOUT:

44 Ooops. 77

44 Ooops, what?

44I haven't beaten anyone this bad in a long time."

44 Oh not again . . . Why for you do that . . . I thought you agreed to chill out for a while ? ?



Demonstrators marched in Minneapolis to protest the police shooting of Tycel Nelson, 17

suicide in police custody last year, charged that the officer jumped from his car, accused the teenager of obstructing traffic and at one point tried to choke him. His parents were arrested when they tried to intervene.

Skull-drumming tactics have an enduring and dismal place in police history, not least in the U.S., where accusations of brutality commonly accompany charges of racism. Many of the ghetto roits of the 1908s were prompted by police incidents. More recently, Miami has suffered five street uprisings in 10 years, all ignited by episodes of perceived police brutality.

Spotty record keeping makes it hard to measure the frequency of police misconduct. Departments often refuse to disclose the number of complaints they receive. Citizens often bring their accusations to civil rights or police-wartchod groups, which complicates attempts to comple a complex control to the complex of the com

In the end, many cases doubtless gourperported, especially in cities where complaints have to be filled out at the station house that is the home base of the very officers against whom the charge is being brought. The general feeling out on the street is that you can't get justice when a street is that you can't get justice when a centured urfector of the Neumon of cold Liberties. Union. Many blacks believe, with considerable cause, that if the King beating had not been recorded, complaints about the case would have been discounted.

But while the experts cannot agree on whether abuses are up or down, few dispute that they are common—and sadly predictable. Even in the best of times, police work is dangerous and stressful, and an officer can face several life-or-death decisions during a single eight-hour watch. The pressures have mounted in recent years as crack has poured into the inner cities, giving rise to drug-dealing gangs armed with automatic weapons—and the hairtrigger temperament to use them.

In New York City, which has highly restrictive guidelines for when police may use their guns, the number of people shot by local cops soared in the past three years from 68 to 108. At the same time, police have been fired on by suspects in greater numbers every year since 1980. Though the number of officers killed nationally has fallen from 104 in 1980 to 66 in 1989, that is partly the result of wider use of bulletproof vests. "It used to be that arrested suspects got right into the patrol car," sighs Boston policeman John Meade, who heads the department's bureau of professional standards. "Now they put up a fight. Weapons suddenly turn up. Just like that, everything explodes "

As inner cities have degenerated into free-fire zones, many officers have be-



Uriah Hannah with the offending toy car The charge: an officer tried to choke him.

come more aggressive, if only in self-defense. Danger "is something you get used to," says Officer Dennis Rhodes, a 20-year veteran of the La-Ap.", "but every time you check in for a shift, you don't really know if you're going to go home that night." Two weeks ago, a suspected car their pointed a 9-mm pistol at Rhodes' partner in the squad car, who then fired a shot at the gumman, forcing the properties of the properties

The temptation to administer streetcorner sentences is sometimes reinforced by the frustration of knowing that many of those the police collar will get off on plea bargains or serve mockingly short sentences.

eyond those factors, police have been saddled with a task for which they are singularly illequipped. Most authorities believe that urban street crime arises from a combination of poverty, poor education and a lack of opportunity in inner-city neighborhoods, problems that the police can do nothing about. Officers, who tend to be recruited from places far from the neighborhoods they will patrol, often have little in common with the citizens they must serve and protect, "The bulk of police forces are white males of the middle class." says Ron DeLord, head of the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas. "Yet we send them into large urban centers that are black and Hispanic and poor. with no understanding of the cultural differences, to enforce white, middle-class moral laws. Doesn't that create a clash?

Law-abiding residents of crime-infested neighborhoods are desperate for police protection. They, after all, are the ones most likely to fall victim to muggers or drive-by shooters. But they also want the police's use of force kept in check, especially in poor neighborhoods where everyone is apt to be treated like a suspect. Even though many police departments have abandoned the official use of so-called drug-dealer profiles, officers may continue to carry racial stereotypes in their heads. To them, virtually any young black male with a gold chain is a potential drug courier. Any well-dressed black man in an expensive car might be a big-time dealer.

As a result, middle-class blacks, including celebrities like actor Blair Underwood, one of the stars of L.-A. Low. complain that they have been harassed, and worse, during simple encounters with the law. At the University of Massachusetts, Boston, last week, the ACLU sponsored a conference that attracted 50 people to discuss the topic of police and local communities. "Over and over, black youngsters stood up



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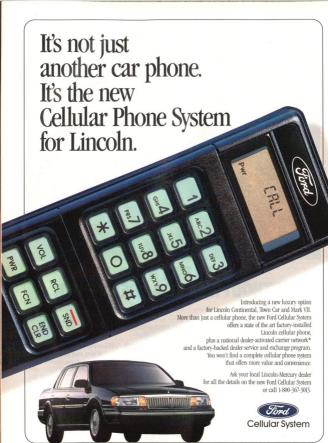
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and talked about how scary and demeaning it is to be stopped and searched," says ACLU state executive director John Roberts. "Even good kids now see police as the enemy. They shun cops.'

Hassled cops, in turn, often retreat into a bipolar outlook: us vs. them. "Police see the sorry side of it all," says Mark Clark, former president of the Houston Police Officers Association. "A policeman can start out bright-eved and bushy-tailed, but it goes away quickly on the street. It takes a mature officer not to stereotype people. Immersion into the police culture can quickly strip away a rookie's idealism. Says Hubert Williams, president of the Police Foundation: "Many officers will say, the moment I graduated from the police academy my partner told me, 'Forget all that stuff they told you at the academy; this is the real world.

Many of the best cops are no longer willing to pay the physical and psychological costs. Take Paul Wyland, who is planning to quit the Washington force after 20 years. "How many dead bodies have you seen?" he asks. "I've lost count. I'm not burned out. But you look at yourself and you say, 'How long can I keep doing this and not get messed up?" " Partly because so many seasoned officers have retired departments around the nation have found themselves seriously understaffed. Others have expanded too rapidly, filling their ranks with inexperienced-and sometimes poorly trained-officers. Because the L.A.P.D. grew from 6,282 to 8,382 in the past three years, 38% of its field officers and 36% of its sergeants have less than three years on the force.

Experts on police psychology insist that most officers are attracted to police work by the opportunity to protect and serve. But a certain number of rotten apples, predisposed to brutality, make it through psychological testing that can be woefully inadequate. Ed Donovan, who runs a counseling service in Plymouth, Mass., for police suffering from stress, warns that police supervisors-and other officers-must be trained to be on the lookout for misfits as they move through the ranks. "Police are out there looking for troubled people,' he says. "They ought to be able to spot troubled cops.

A few cities have revamped their training and supervision to make abuses less likely. Since 1988, all 2,400 police officers on the Metro-Dade county force have undergone violence-reduction training to school themselves in ways to defuse potentially violent situations and to avoid overreaction to typical confrontations.

Critics of the police say that legaldamage suits are a more useful deterrent to police brutality and that they would work even better if jury awards were paid out of individual officers' pockets instead of by city treasuries. While courts have decided that public employees are not individually liable for most of their actions on



Miami police use a nightstick across the throat of a burglary suspect during 1989 rioting

the job, taxpayer concern about the rising cost of lawsuits has revived the popularity of civilian review boards. Such panels are at work in 26 of the nation's 50 largest cities, up from 13 seven years ago. The boards save municipal dollars by providing complainants with an alternative to the courts. They can also help departments identify

and weed out problem officers before they strike again

Rodney King, the victim of the Los Angeles beating, is bringing a \$56 million civil suit against the L.A.P.D.-according to his lawyer, \$1 million for each blow against him. As it happens, Chief Gates appeared before the city council last week to testify about the sums being paid by Los Angeles-about \$10.5 million in 1990-to successful plaintiffs in police-misconduct suits. One was a \$265,000 judgment to an 18-year-old white youth who was dragged from a car and beaten severely enough to suffer permanent ear damage. Although a civil-court jury found six officers at fault, Gates told the council that after a ninemonth investigation, his department could not determine which officer had actually done the beating, "If you can't identify them, it's difficult to discipline them," he insisted. Members of the council were incredulous

In the end, discipline must come from rank-and-file police with courage enough to break the so-called Blue Code, which prohibits one officer from ratting on another. A few encouraging signs exist that some officers are abandoning the tradition of blind loyalty to one another in misconduct cases. In Houston more than half of all complaints now come from other officers. During the King beating, two California highway-patrol officers reportedly took down the names of those involved from their breast-pocket name tags. They have since testified to investigators.

Episodes of police brutality are likely never to vanish entirely. But they could be significantly curtailed if more officers concluded that as long as their fellow police take the law into their own hands, there is no law at all. - Reported by Cathy Booth/Miami, Sylvester Monroe and Edwin M. Reingold/Los Angeles

Writing on the Wall

wo years before the videotaped beating of Rodney King, television viewers were shocked by footage of a white patrolman in Long Beach, Calif., apparently ramming a black man's head through a plate-glass window. The victim was Don Carlos Jackson, who has devoted himself to exposing police racism since he himself retired from the police force of Hawthorne, Calif., in 1989.

Jackson has assembled a collection of bigoted materials he has found in police departments. Among them: an "Official Running Nigger Target," depicting a grossly caricatured nude black male, posted in a station house in Glendale, Calif.; and a memorandum he found in Los Angeles reading, "Effective immediately, Negroes are no longer to be called 'niggers' or 'jigs'-but seagulls. They cruise all night, squawk all day, s on everybody. And are protected by the Federal Government.'

Jackson argues that for many officers, "the definition of a criminal suspect is almost synonymous with a black male face." Most departments have rules forbidding the display of racist materials. All too often those regulations are ignored.

AURORA, COLORADO

Officer Jeri Thomas duties include playing basketball with the kids at Sable Elementary School, Thomas is part of Aurora. Col.'s, Police Area Representative program, one of 21 specialty beats where cops focus on everything from eliminating drug dealers and purse snatchers to teaching kids like these about the harmful effects of drugs.



Nation

BENTLEY FOR TIME

Back to the Beat

As an antidote to police abuses and street crime, many cities are sending cops into communities to protect, serve—and often befriend—local residents

By RICHARD LACAYO

While the Los Angeles Police Department has long relied on swart teams and helicopters for hightech law enforcement, police departments in many other cities are turning to methods that are decidted in the control of the control choice? A good pair of walking shoes and a gift for small talk, coupled with rigorous training in the basics of policing. Frustrated by the failure of standard

Frustrated by the failure of standard methods to reduce crime, more than 300 cities and towns nationwide-including Boston, Houston and San Francisco—are adopting the concept of community Patieng, Through Community Patrol Officer Programs, these municipalities work to build rapport between politic officers and the neighborhoods they prior. The meson of the property of the property

When police officers and the citizens of a neighborhood know each other, CPOP theory holds, it is more difficult for both

criminals and cops to break the law, "Community policing is a deterrent to the improper use of force because it strengthens officers' relationships with the community," says Herman Goldstein, professor of criminal law at the University of Wisconsin. "The neighborhood support gives police a greater sense of confidence and authority, which reduces their need for using force. If police officers feel they don't have the authority, the power, to handle a situation, they're more likely to resort to brute force." Referring to the L.A.P.D.'s beating of Rodney King, Goldstein says, "It's incomprehensible that a police officer imbued with community policing would engage in that type of behavior.

One typical eroro officer is Donald Christy, 36, of Lansing, Mich. A little over a year ago, he was assigned to cover a mine-block area of the city. At first disheartened by the sight of crack houses and bighted streets, Christy took pains to get on a first-name basis with many of the arrange of the constraint of the

numbered the bad." Meanwhile, he organized a volunteer community cleanup, which filled 30 Dumpsters with litter; arranged federal funding for floral plantings; and even held a contest to choose a name for the neighborhood: Sparrow Estates.

His unconventional approach to policing paid big dividends in terms of crime control. Residents began to give Christy that helped him drive away criminals. Indoor dealers found themselves evicted by absente I andlords, "You can walk around the block now without fear of being attacked," says Rulph Casler, a retired meyears, Says Christy, "I haven't made an arrest in eight months."

The history of the beat cop has traveled full circle; once, he was nearly driven to extended to the control of the control of the monetory of cross. Until the first decades of this century, police were all-purpose keepers of the peace. They ran lodging houses for the homeless, tracked down offensive smells, rounded up stray animals and kept the streetlamps supplied with oil. They also gained a reputation for taking



PORTLAND, OREGON

Starting in 1989. the city of Portland. Ore., embarked on a five-year plan to implement community policing. Here, members of the police gangenforcement unit watch a high school basketball game. hoping their presence will deter violence and become more familiar in the community.

payoffs and doling out a rough brand of curbside justice.

By the 1936s and '40s, reformers had refashioned police departments along more narrowly focused lines. Officers were trained to concentrate on apprehending criminals, especially for the most serious and rape. Other functions were handed off to city health and welfare departments or similar agencies. After World War II, patrol cars and two-way radios came into widness of the contraction of t

The final reform was the all but universal adoption of the 911 system for emergency calls. With that, police were reduced to chasin from one crime seen to another, all the while consolidating the bleakest impression of the people they served. A recent study found that New York City police spend 90% of their time on the job attending to such calls; they once spent just 50%. That leaves almost not time for arwhing else.

and the control of th

nary citizens the most. In turn, their fear acts like an acid to disintegrate neighborhood ties. It leads citizens to shun the streets and abdicate responsibility for conditions outside their doors. That invites a dismal cycle of deteriorating conditions, more fear—and more crime.

ccordingly, CPOP cops try to discourage crimes before they happen by maintaining-or creating-stable neighborhoods. That requires them to learn which local problems are of greatest concern to residents, and help them find solutions. "Police lost the most valuable thing we had, which is contact with people," says Washington police chief Isaac Fulwood. "We really got away from basic common-sense approaches." In a city where the murder rate soared 10% last year, partly owing to drugs, Fulwood has established community-policing pilot programs in two crime-ridden districts. In addition to a lawbook, patrol officers now have access to a fat directory of government services.

"We deal with broken playground equipment and pothods just as we do with crime," says David Couper, chief of police in Madison, Wis, which has committed its entire force of 310 officers to the community of the policy of the po

"The police here are more on top of TIME, APRIL 1, 1991 things then they've ever been," he boasts. Balles may act as point man with the bureaucracy to get streetlights for a dark alley, or arrange marital counseling for a dark alley, or arrange marital counseling for a household that accounts for repeated 911 calls when the couple starts fighting. Defusing situations like that can be highly cost effective. In many cities, more than 60% of emergency calls are generated by just 10% of the household with the properties of the properties of the household with the properties of the properties of the household with the properties of the prope

Community police may also use unconventional means to combat more serious crimes. When drug dealers in House to turned a bank of pay phones outside a convenience store into their personal business office, a partonian got the phones reoffice, a partonian got the phones rement complex where dealers flourished was finally boarded up after a community cop tracked down and harangued the properry's bankrupty trustee.

Whether CPO can actually drive down the crime rate is still unproven. The most thorough study of its effectiveness, a 1981 examination of an experimental foot-patrol program in Newark, found that it did not decrease crime. It did pay off, however, in psychological well-being. The visible presence of so many patrolinen made people feel safer and better disposed toward

the police.

More recently, though, other cities have reported lower crime rates in specific neighborhoods where the crow approach has been given a try. On Madison's such side, property crime was reduced 14% between 1500 and 1500 are considered a 18% of the constraint of the constr

Nation

that community policing simply relocated the problem.

One big difficulty for police departments is finding the time and resources to make community policing work. Though some croor cops are assigned full time to the job, many cities are trying to the judged on parto-lear offices. But the frequency of 91 calls means that their time for closcup patrolling is limited. Houston's Neighborhood Oriented Policing in the property of the property of the ferred to deristively by police themselves as Nobosh on Parto, police themselves as Nobosh on Parto,

Because the 911 system can never be

abandoned—woe to the mayor of any city in which the police cannot be summoned quickly during a break-in—many departments are looking at ways to cut down on the number of calls. In the Denersuburb of Aurora, where only about a fourth of an estimated 199,000 calls each year are for real emergencies, police operators perform "911 triage." Where apters to other city agencies. Police officers take the less urgent crime reports over the phone.

"We've ingrained the mentality that a stolen bike will bring an officer to your doorstep quickly," says Aurora division

chief Ronald Sloam. "That has to change." Community policing is reshaping police forces themselves. Some police academies are revamping their curriculums to train cadets in social-service skills. To dispel the impression in minority neighborhoods that police are a white army of occupation, many crop plans require increased hiring of minority officers.

In a system in which the number of arrests made is no longer the mark of success, new yardsticks will be needed to measure individual performance for promotions. "It's hard to measure what doesn't happen in an area," say Aurora's Sloan. One proposal is to look at achieved

reductions in the crime rate. Police unions are sure to resist that idea, which would make officers answerable for the countless variables beyond their control—everything from a local recession to a summer heat wave—that can lead to increased crime.

Among the people who

don't want to see cops back on the heat are many of the cops themselves. Middlelevel department brass are suspicious of plans that make patrol officers more independent. Many of the rank-and-file personnel also scoff at anything that smacks of social work. "There's an unfounded fear that it detracts from the macho image and takes the fun out of putting the bad guys in jail," says Carolyn Robison, a Tulsa police major. A lot of officers just don't like walking. For years, being assigned to the beat was a standard way to

punish officers The most daunting aspect of CPOP may be that it so dramatically expands the idea of what it means to be a police officer. "This is a radical notion for police," says University of Wisconsin's Goldstein, "that they have 30 or 40 tools at their disposal to bring to bear upon complex problems," But after so many vears of getting mixed results from just a few toolshandcuffs, a billy club and a gun-many police are ready for a change. And so are most of the citizens they serve. - Reported by Elaine Shannon/Washington

and Richard Woodbury/Tulsa

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Officer Myron McNair wears a smile as he pounds his beat. A year ago, Major Alvin Winkler. commander of Raltimore's tough eastern district. reinstituted foot patrols in five highcrime areas of Baltimore, Now. says Winkler. "average citizens are more willing to volunteer information to the police."



TULSA, OKLAHOMA

Cruising downtown. bicycle patrolman Neal Walters is part of Tulsa's expanding community-policing program. "It used to be 'we' and 'they.' says Chief Drew Diamond. "Now it's the 'community' and 'us' working together." The chief has assembled an inch-thick book of the city's shifting demographics to help in understanding crime patterns.



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The Political Interest

Michael Kramer

Gates: The Buck Doesn't Stop Here

'No one is going to force me out of this office," says Daryl Gates. "I didn't invest 42 years of my life to go down the tubes over an incident I had nothing to do with "

Gates doesn't get it. Even though he was not physically present when Rodney King had the hell beat out of him in Los Angeles on March 3, Gates, as head of the L.A.P.D., is responsible. When one has the power to constrain those who might engage in an immoral enter-

prise, one has a responsibility to do so. In such a situation, a leader's worthiness is judged by how that responsibility is discharged, both before and after the outrage is committed.

Gates failed at both ends. In the weeks following the King incident. Gates has refused to accept any responsibility. He still insists that the atrocity was an "aberration," although Los Angeles is currently paying at least \$10 million in claims to blacks and Hispanics unjustly slammed around by Gates' cops. The video evidencehorrifying and unambiguous-was seen around the world almost instantly, but it took Gates four days to announce that all the officers present at the scene would be investigated, and to ask that criminal charges be filed against the cops who

calmly took turns clubbing and kicking the handcuffed King.

It took two more weeks for Gates to order a "brick-by-brick" review of police-training procedures, but he was on television the very next day touting his department as a "model" for the nation. Gates' eventual apology to King was equally grudgingand began with two absurd irrelevancies: "In spite of the fact that he's on parole and a convicted robber, I'd be glad to apologize."

Consider how New York City's former police commissioner reacted to a similar situation in 1985, when officers were accused of torturing a suspect with electric "stun guns." After first accepting his own responsibility, Commissioner Benjamin Ward summoned 327 senior officers to police headquarters in lower Manhattan. He read them the riot act, then fired the entire chain of command involved in the incident-from a lieutenant at the offending precinct to the department's thirdranking official, the chief of patrol. "I didn't consult with the mayor or the district attorney, or anyone," says Ward. "I just acted."

"Ben understood instantly and instinctively about accountability," says Patrick Murphy, who held New York's top police job in the early 1970s. "He knew that behavior is controlled by consequences. The work of police officers, no matter how idealistic, energetic or motivated, can never transcend the caliber of their bosses. Leadership will either be a constant

inspiration or instant depression. Cops at the lower rungs cannot escape the management of the chief. The L.A. officers would not have done what they did if they knew they would be reported by other officers. The problem is the tone set at the top." In most departments, says James Fyfe, an American University professor and former cop, "the use of force is considered a failure." But Los Angeles is different. In the L.A.P.D., says Fyfe, "if you kick butt, you're doing a good job.

Those who defend Gates say his is the only realistic approach. They decry the average officer's frustration with revolving-door justice, excessive plea bargaining, the fact that so few convicted felons "do time" for their crimes, the requirement that

those who patrol ghetto areas fulfill a myriad of societal roles. As excuses, these explanations excuse nothing-and the conditions they describe are hardly new.

The trying task of policing ghetto America was institutions of social conschools, because so many

perhaps best described by the Kerner Commission following the urban riots of the 1960s, most of which were ignited by police violence: "Police responsibilities in the ghetto have grown as other trol have lost much of their authority: the are segregated, old and inferior; religion, which has become irrelevant to

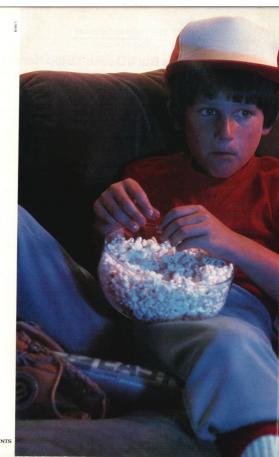
those who lost faith as they lost hope ... the family, because its bonds are so often snapped. It is the policeman who must fill this institutional vacuum, and is then resented for the presence this effort demands.

"And yet," the report continued, "precisely because the policeman in the ghetto is a symbol, it is of critical importance that the police take every possible step to allay grievances that flow from a sense of injustice and increased tension and turmoil.

In a democracy, effective law enforcement requires community support. Without it, the concept of ordered liberty is impossible. However true public-police partnerships are fashioned-and they do exist-they can never thrive, as the Kerner commissioners put it, "when a substantial segment of the community feels threatened by the police and regards the police as an occupying force."

Daryl Gates complained last week that his department is "not getting" public support. "They hate me," he said of his critics, a condition ordinarily insufficient to demand a police commander's resignation: most chiefs are routinely denounced by some of those they serve. But when a near majority of Los Angeles residents say in a poll they fear for their safety when stopped by an L.A. cop, and a quarter say they have personally seen or been involved in an incident in which excessive force has been used, something is tragically wrong. And the first thing wrong is Daryl Gates.





TEXAS INSTRUMENTS





Hammering home a populist message: "It's time the American worker got a break"

The Common Man's Tax Cut

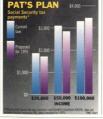
Rebuffed last fall, Moynihan revives his plan to reduce Social Security levies for middle- and lower-wage earners

By ALEX PRUD'HOMME

44The most irresponsible idea of the 1990s, "said Budget Director Richard Darman. "A charade!" harrumphed President George Bush. "Outrageous!" cried dozens of editorialists and labor groups. The object of that opprobrium was groups. The object of that opprobrium was proposed by the New York Democrat in December 1989, the bill was killed last October 1980s, the bill was killed last October 1980s, the object of the Social Security Tax. Cut Act of 1991, an updated version of Moymhan's idea, is becoming one of of Moymhan's idea, is becoming one of of Moymhan's idea, is becoming one of of Moymhan's object sizes.

With his plan, Movnihan seeks to curtail the government's spending of the surplus that resulted from a 1983 congressional overhaul of the Social Security system. Congress had called for accelerated tax rates to build up reserves for baby boomers, many of whom will begin to retire early next century. The reserves will result in an estimated surplus of \$74 billion this year, \$83 billion next vear and \$225 billion by the year 2000. Charging the government with "extortion. Movnihan claims that this "trust fund" is being improperly counted as general revenue when the federal budget is written each year and is being used to mask the real size of the budget deficit. Besides, Moynihan contends, the Social Security tax is one of the country's most regressive levies, putting a greater burden on middle- and low-level earners than does the income tax. "It's time the American worker got a break," he says. "Average weekly earnings for nonsupervisory, nonfarm workers were lower in 1990 than they were in 1960."

Under the existing law, American employers and employers this year will each pay a flat Social Security payroll tax of 6.2% on wages up to a cap of \$53,400. Moynihan's proposal would cut the tax to 5.7% on July 1 of this year, to 5.5% in 1994, and to 5.2% in 1996. After five years, workers would pay only what is required to meet the benefits payments for that year's Social Security.



curity. With some workers saving up to \$2,300 each during the transition period, says Moynihan, their added spending would stimulate the ectonomy and create jobs. Meanwhile, no increase in payroll taxes would be required until 2015, when the rate would return to the current level of 6.2%.

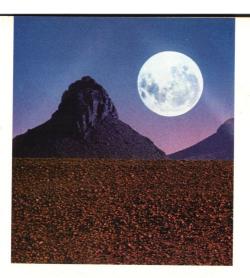
Reaction has been mixed. Gary Halfbauer, a Georgetown University economist, estimates that a Social Security tax cut would create a million jobs and thus add a million extra contributors to the trust fund. But Republican Senator Phil Gramm of Texas warms against "soaking the rich." Says in: "We should be debuting tax cuts, but we will be the state of the state of the state of the system isn't broke; don't fix it." The plant's critics argue that it could cost the federal government \$50 billion a year in lost revcue, a claim challenged by Moynihan.

Since tax cuts are inherently appealing to voters, this proposal is sure to provoke some frenzied political maneuvering during the run-up to next year's presidential election. The Democrats will try to argue that they are the party of ordinary Americans, while casting the Republicans as champions of the rich for supporting a capital-gains tax cut that would mainly benefit families with annual incomes of \$200,000 and up. Although the Bush Administration officially opposes the Movnihan tax cut, some Republicans are trying to head off a potential political bonanza for the Democrats by supporting the idea. A number of them also favor the tax cut on ideological grounds, claiming that it will shift resources from the public to the private sector.

A coalition of strange bedfellows is starting to line up behind Moynihan's plan. The bill's co-sponsors include liberal Democrats, like Hawaii's Daniel Inouye and Rhode Island's Claiborne Pell, and conservative Republicans, like Orrin Hatch of Utah and Steve Symms of Idaho. But Movnihan still faces obstacles-not least the Democratic House leadership. Pointing to the yawning federal deficit, House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski argues that "the last thing we should be doing is cutting taxes." Speaker Tom Foley remains on the fence. Senate majority leader George Mitchell, initially cool to the Moynihan plan, now supports it "in concept," and has suggested raising the cap as a way to offset any revenue loss.

With powerful forces building behind it, Moynham's latest payroll-tax-reduction proposal stands a good chance of survivag-but only if it can get as far as a Senate-House conference, which could happen by June. President Bush would then face the difficult choice of signing a bill-point of the standard of the standard

-Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington



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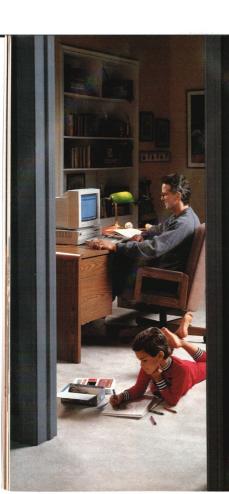
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"On my desk at work there's a photo of my son. It's a good likeness... but it just doesn't compare to the real thing."

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Stage mother: Holloway, left, indicted for plotting to kill the mother of Amber Heath, center, to help daughter Shanna, right

Murders They Wrote

Passion, envy and genius combine in a trio of true-life crime dramas that seem ready-made for TV

By NANCY GIBBS

to choose which of this winter's mutto choose which of this winter's mutder cases would have been a considered to choose which of the week. Even tabloid writeres and the considerant are hard pressed to do justice melodrama are hard pressed to do justice to the true stories that have unfolded in New Hampshire, Texas and Florida—and who knows how many other plots are marinating, still undiscovered, in the shadows of the heartland? A brief gazetta?

NEW HAMPSHIRE. In the town of Dery? Pamela Smart, a 23-year-old high school instructor with big brown eyes. Gainsborough ringlets and a tate for heavy-metal music, deflowered William Flynn, a 15-year-old student, after they walk the steamy movie 9/3 Weeks on the properties of the steamy movie 9/3 Weeks on two friends to do away with her husband Greg, who was found shot in the back of the head last May

At Rockingham County Superior Court in Exeter, court watchers began queuing up in the wee hours to get good seats. The Boston Head's set up a 900 number, at 95e a minute, for readers to call in werdiets. One with early sold her story to Hollywood for \$100,000, testified that Smart told the boys to lock the dog in the cellar so it would not have to watch the dastardly deed.

The dog, in fact, loomed large in her calculations. According to prosecutors, Smart decided to get rid of Greg rather than divorce him for fear that her husband, a 24year-old insurance salesman, would keep not only their condo but also their pet. So, argued prosecutor Paul Maggiotto, she "got her hooks so deep into the hormones" of Flynn that he could not resist her influence. Last week the jury agreed, and Judge Douglas Gray sentenced Smart to life in prison without parole for conspiring to commit murder. All three boys pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and face the possibility of life imprisonment.

TEXAS. At Alice Johnson Junior High School in Channelview, outside Houston, two eighth-grade honor students, Shanna Harper and Amber Heath, were vying for a spot on this falls freshman chercleading squad. But Shanna didn't make it—not least because, on the day before the contest deadline, her mother was arrested for trying to get someone to murder Amber's mother.

Wanda Webb Hollowey, organist at the local Baptist church, is an irrepressible local Baptist church, is an irrepressible stage mother. Two years ago, when Shanna was up for the cheerleading leam, her mother tried to have rival Amber disqualified fined from the competition on a technicality. Last year Holloway inadvertently got who will be a support of the competition of howeved up at least the support motional pencils and rulers imprinted SHANNA MARPER CHEERILEADING.

This year she is charged with trying a more drastic strategy. According to the police. Holloway plotted to have Amber's mother killed in the hope of causing the girl so much emotional distress that she would be unable to compete. When Holloway allegedly asked her ex-brother-in-law to help her find a hitman, he turned informant. According to the police, she and daughter, but coulder and daughter, but coulder had to start the start of the she will be she willy

Heath alone. Holloway has pleaded not guilty, and the trial is set to start in June. In the meantime, school principal James M. Barker still believes in healthy competition. "After all, it's the American way. We all want our children to achieve. There is a part of Wanda Holloway in all of us."

FLORIDA. The nation's second busiest death row is accommodating an unusual new arrival: a pepper-haired, bespectacled genius named George James Trepal, who fed rat poison to the family next door because he considered them bad neighbors. It seems that Trepal, a science buff and member of Mensa, a social club for the high IQed, grew tired of his neighbors' loud music and barking dogs. He left a death threat on the door, and when that didn't work he slipped into the Carr family kitchen and laced some thallium nitrite into a pack of 16-oz, Coca-Cola Classic bottles. A few days later Peggy Carr's hair began falling out. Her feet burned, her fingers tingled and her stomach turned. Within a few weeks she was in a coma; three months later she was dead. Her sons and husband also showed

symptoms but eventually recovered. Police were utterly baffled until Trepal began handing over clues. No one in the small community of Alturas could conceive of a motive, until detectives began questioning Trepal. "Somebody wanted them to move out," he told police, "That was the reason they were poisoned." Next he began planning for his favorite recreation, the annual Mensa murder weekend, when the geniuses gather to solve their perfect fantasy crime. "When a death threat appears on the doorstep," he wrote in a booklet for the event, "prudent people throw out all their food and watch what they eat." An undercover agent, planted in Mensa to befriend Trepal and learn his secrets, ultimately found the evidence against him: a small vial in the garage containing traces of thallium. How could a genius be so Reported by Linda Bean/

Exeter and Deborah Fowler/Houston



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American Notes

Retrial for David Mooney

TRIALS

Be It Ever So Humble . . .

A man's home is his castle, even if home is a park bench or a cardboard box under a highway bridge. And a man's possessions, like his home, are protected by the Constitution from unlawful searches. That was the thrust of a Connecticut Supreme Court ruling last week that ordered a new trial for David Mooney, a homeless man charged with murder because his property-a duffel bag and a box stashed under a ramp leading onto Interstate 91 in New Haven-had been searched by police without a warrant. "His duffel bag was luggage," observes criminal-law professor Lloyd Weinreb of Harvard. "If someone were walking down the street with a suitcase, everyone would take it for granted that it was private property." The court ruled that the bloodstained pants and \$700 in coins found in the bag were inadmissible as evidence.

In a separate case involving a similar principle, a federal judge held the city of Miami in contempt of court last week for destroying bedrolls, clothes and medicine belonging to homeless people living under a high-way overpass. The city was ordered to pay \$2,500 to a homeless shelter.

Now They Tell Us!

In Seattle, where environmentalism and individualism are local mainstays, the woodburning stove has long been the appliance of the politically correct. Sales exploded during the 1970s energy crises, when stoves seemed an organic way of declaring independence from Big Oil.

But it turns out that they can be rotten for your health. The organic compounds of woodsmoke are suspected of being linked to cancer, heart disease and disorders of the central nervous system. "People never realized how dirty they were," says Naydone May-kut, an air-pollution scientist. Heating 30 houses with wood state of the control of the control

Although people on fixed incomes would be allowed to keep their stoves, King County officials are considering baning stoves in new homes and phasing out older models. "It's aspout time," says David Ortman, northwest representative of Friends of the Earth. "We shouldn't have put them in in the first place."



Hazardous to your health?



Flash flood: a mixed blessing for a parched land

WEATHER

California Streamin'

In most places, torrential downpours, torrandoes, flash floods and mudslides would be about as welcome as the bubonic plague. In drought-parched California, however, such freakish weather has been greeted with jubilation. So far, what some residents are calling the "Mirade March" has brought three weeks of rain and almost doubled the state's normal monthly precipitation levels. The watery largesse resulted when a highlargesse resulted when a high-

pressure system moved off the Pacific Coast, unleashing the storms that have drenched

inestates of a drought-indescription of a drought-indescription of the description of the coposition of the description of the coposition of the description of the description

urban battlegrounds could be:

"I just got back from where they

were firing missiles at my head.

Death on the Home Front

Americans got a reminder last week that some war zones are more lethal than others. After seven months in the Persian Gulf with a Patriot missile battery, Army Specialist Anthony Riggs, 22, won a twoweek furlough. Back home less than 24 hours, Riggs was helping his wife load a car and rented van to move out of a crack-

infested neighborhood in northeast Detroit to an apartment in the safer suburbs. Someone took a fancy to Riggs' 1989 Nissan Sentra, pumped five shots into the soldier and sped off in the car.

Riggs had underestimated just how murderous America's



Riggs: spared in war, shot on the street

mean streets, where gunfire is all too common. "Those bullets aren't going to frighten me now." A few hours after he died, a letter from Riggs arrived, date of Feb. 22. "I have no intentions on becoming one of this war's casualties," he wrote. But he was talking about the wrong war.



SUPPORT GROUP HELPS WOMEN

VITH BREAST CANCER



nation of optimism and forthright spunk. When she was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1984 she was determined to fight back. "Once something like this happens, you realize it's a warning-and you've got to do the things you really want to do,"

So she did. While undergoing chemotherapy, Virginia kept a full-time job and completed a B.S. degree in Business Administration. Upon graduation, she and her husband Joe took a trip to Europe, "My reward," she recalls.

But there was more she wanted to do, so she started a local support group in her area where there had been none. "I made it through surgery and treatments-and I thought I could help others through the same thing," she says.

Reaching Out for Support

Virginia began by contacting medical experts. She gained the interest of her physician, his nurse and the local branch of the American Cancer Society (ACS). Her co-workers helped create a

brochure. Then she visited other doctors' offices to find breast cancer patients to join the group.

Today, the group meets twice each month. Some nights, guest speakers talk about medical treatments, nutrition, legal concerns, even timely hair and makeup techniques. Other nights, it's strictly from the heart as group members share feelings and fears about their illness.

Sharing is Caring

"Cancer is like a series of peaks and valleys," Virginia notes. "Sometimes a woman may tell us her diagnosis is bad. But someone else may announce, 'I have only one more

chemo treatment' -and you can

share in the joy." Virginia has suffered two cancer relanses. Without a trace of self-pity she explains, "This is serious stuff, but vou can't brood about it all the time." To discourage brooding. Virginia oversees the group's annual holiday party. She

also helps compile lists of tips for newcomers. For instance, "When you go to the doctor, bring your questions on paper and bring along a friend who'll hear the things you'll miss."

ACS Program Director Sharon Murphy says, "It's amazing to see what a positive outlook they have, how they can just say, 'I'm alive today-and that's good."

While others credit Virginia Ray's unflappable courage for the group's success, Virginia insists anyone can do it. "You just have to get out there, take initiative and contact people," she says, "because you can really make a big difference in people's lives."



Virginia Ray continues to inspire breast cancer patients at bi-monthly support group meetings.

17th in a series of self-reliant communities cleaning up problems in their own backyards



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IRAO

Getting Their Way

The Kurdish revolt shakes Saddam, contributing to his decision to form a new Cabinet, and raises the question, Does the country face a breakup?

By LISA BEYER

If we had a king. He would be worthy of his crown; He should have a capital And we would share his fortune. Turk and Persian and Arab Would all be our slaves. Kurdish verse popular in the

he slaves are out of the question, but the capital and the fortune are looking more attainable than ever to Iraq's Kurdish minority. After struggling for most of this century for control of their homeland, which happens to sit atop some of Iraq's richest oil fields, the Kurds have wrested large portions of it from Saddam Hussein's disheveled forces. Though their gains are far from irreversible, this time the Kurds appear to have a chance of holding on and, in the end, winning at least a form of autonomy. Says a beaming Hoshyar Zebari, spokesman for the Kurdistan Democratic Party: "This is the nearest we've ever come to achieving

The successes of the Kurds in Iraq's north as well as those of predominantly Shi'ite rebels staging a simultaneous uprising in the south have plainly spooked Saddam. Last weekend in an apparent bid to soothe popular discontent, Saddam relinquished one of his posts, that of Prime Minister, and named a new 24-member Cabinet. The new Prime Minister. Saadoun Hammadi, formerly deputy PM, is a Shi'ite and within the context of the ruling Baath Party, is considered a moderate. But the changes are unlikely to convince the Iraqi masses that the regime has truly turned over a new leaf, especially since the ironhanded Interior Minister, Ali Hassan Majid, has kept his job. "The Cabinet is window dressing," says a U.S. government expert on Iraq. "It doesn't make any decisions anyway

Saddam is not the only one worried about the Kurds; the allies, who, by enfecbling Saddam, made the Kurdish victories possible, are concerned too. The Kurdish leadership professes a modest aim-

suspicions run deep that the real agenda is, as it has been in the past, independence, a break from Baghdad clean and neat. That is an outcome none of the allies desire. For one thing, they do not want to be held responsible for Irag's partition. For another, the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Iran and the Soviet Union might come down with separatist fever as well. At the same time, the allies are rooting

for Saddam's downfall, a result the Kurdish uprising may be making more likely. The conflicting objectives of keeping Iraq whole and bringing Saddam down have produced what a close adviser to President Bush frankly calls a "muddle" in U.S. policy. While refusing to give actual aid to the rebels, Washington has hampered Sad-

autonomy within a democratic Iraq. But | dam's ability to subdue them by refusing to allow Iraqi warplanes to fly. The U.S. enforced that prohibition last week when it shot down two Iraqi Su-22 fighter-bombers in northern Iraq. Washington, however, has so far turned a blind eye to Iraqi helicopter attacks on the rebels.

For the Kurds, the dearth of support for their cause is nothing new. They first began to seek independence for Kurdistan, which encompasses 28 million people in an area roughly the size of Thailand, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed after World War I. The Treaty of Sèvres in 1920 promised them an independent state, but it was never ratified. Later that year, Britain annexed the oil-rich Kurdish region of Mosul to Iraq, then a British mandate. Intermittent insurgencies against Baghdad have



TIME APPH 1 1991

followed ever since, and Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Syria have also remained restive.

Life under non-Kurdish rulers has not been easy. Teaching the Kurdish language is prohibited in Iranian and Syrian schools. In Turkey singing a Kurdish ditty can bring a jail term. Syria has revoked the citizenship of many of its Kurds to punish their rebelliousness. Iraq has expelled tens of the control of the control of the control of the business of Kurds from their homes, and the commanity security of the control of the control 5,000 people. The world commanity scarcely took note.

Over the years, the Syrians, Iranians and Turks have quietly supplied military aid to Iraqi Kurds. But the assistance was only enough to create a nuisance for Baghdad, never enough to enable the Kurds to break loose.

In their latest campaign the rebels claim that in addition to their 30,000 fighters, called the peshmerga (those who face death), they have on their side some 20,000 defectors from the regular military and another 200,000 militiamen. But these figures are believed to be greatly exaggerated. "If you add them up."

Rebels watch over

the body of a securi-

ty agent they killed

you add them up," says a senior British diplomat, "the fighting should have ended

some time ago."
Yet there is no denying that the Kurdshave made serious advances. After the relatively easy task of capturing barren in stallation in Harir

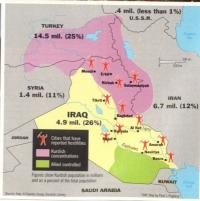
countryside, last week they began to move on the cities, including Kirkuk, a metropolis of nearly 1 million people and the heart of Iraq's oil-producing north.

The processing aboves been rough fightres Saladin, the nemesis of the Crusadors. was a Kurd. But this time, they have been helped by a convergence of propitious factors. Because Baghdad at first considered the unrest in the Shi't a crass more threatening, it moved troops in the north southward, giving the querrillas a more open field. Popular diagnost with Saddam's disastrous Kawaiti and art, "says Jaill Talaboti, Damaco-lined leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan." "There must be a climate for it."

Though there is no indication that the Kurds are coordinating military tactics with the insurrectionists in the south, both Kurdish and Shi'ite groups belong to the Joint Action Committee formed by Iraqi opposition organizations in December. Still, the ambitions of the Kurds, who are Sunnis, and the Shi'ites, who want a fundamentalist government in Baghdad, are hopelessly in conflict. Last week Talabani said bluntly, "There will not be an Islamic regime in Iraq." Meanwhile, the Shi'ites suspect that in victory Kurdistan would bolt from the republic at the first opportunity. Outsiders are equally skeptical that the Kurds would settle for autonomy, "As the first step, yes," says Michael Lazarev.







an expert on the Kurds at Moscow's Institute of the Middle East, "But I am sure they are still dreaming of a Kurdistan of their own.'

Such a prospect makes leaders in Turkey, Iran, Syria and to a lesser extent the Soviet Union uneasy. It is not that the Kurds spread across these countries are likely to join arms and fight en masse for a united homeland. Tribal loyalties have prevented the Kurds from developing that kind of cohesion. In fact, Kurds have at times betraved their fellow nationals, as when Iraqi Kurds in the early 1970s conspired against Iranian Kurds in return for Tehran's support for the Iraqi group's fight against Baghdad. But the fear is that if the Kurds in Iraq succeed in gaining self-rule, Kurds elsewhere may be emboldened to fight harder for their rights as well.

Turkey has put the Kurds on notice that it may use force to prevent the establishment of an independent Kurdish state in Iraq. Ankara has a historic claim on Iraq's Mosul province which it might use as a pretext for such a move. That might in turn prompt Iran and Syria to seize their own pieces of Iraq. Two weeks ago, Turkish officials met with Iraqi Kurdish leaders for the first time. In exchange for that rare acknowledgment of their legitimacy, the Kurds apparently promised Ankara that they would not foment rebellion among their brethren in Turkey

While Iraqi Kurds have been speaking with increasing confidence that their day has come, Saddam has surely not finished fighting them. If his forces are able to consolidate their gains in the south, they will soon turn their guns on the rebels in the north. After a permanent truce is reached with the allies. Saddam will presumably be able to fly his combat planes again and thus bomb the Kurds from the air.

Of course, Saddam may not last long enough to see the battle out. The allies continue to hope that one of his officers will depose him. Many Kurdish leaders say they would be happy to work with a military junta. According to Zebari, his group has even written to army commanders pledging support for a military coup. Yet a new man in a uniform in Baghdad might not be any better for the Kurds than the old one. "The military establishment in Iraq has a very bad history," says Sami Abdul Rahman, leader of the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party. "They are chauvinistic and dictatorial.

The armed forces, which are dominated by Sunni Arabs, are also aware that both the Shi'ites and the Kurds are revolting not just against Saddam but against Sunni subjugation as well. Preserving Sunni predominance would thus require quashing the rebels' aspirations. For the Kurds, a capital and a fortune may yet prove as illusory as those slaves. -Reported by Dan Goodgame/ Washington, Scott MacLeod/Damascus and William Mader/London

In from the Cold

ever let it be said that April Glaspie does not know how to suffer in silence. Ever since Iraq invaded Kuwait last August, the Bush Administration has tried to make Glaspie, then the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, the scapegoat for Washington's prewar policy of appeasing Saddam Hussein. That was easy to do, since Glaspie was prohibited from giving her version of the infamous meeting she had in Baghdad with the Iraqi dictator a week before the invasion. Iraq leaked a doctored transcript in September quoting Glaspie as saving that the U.S. had "no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Since only the Iraqis had a transcript, Glaspie could offer no documentary evidence that contradicted Saddam's account. All she could do was obey orders and say nothing.

Last week Glaspie finally spoke up. The State Department allowed her to ap pear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where she proved to be the best witness for her defense. Articulate and direct. Glaspie insisted that Iraq had "maliciously" edited the transcript "to the point of inaccuracy." A "great deal" in the Iraqi record was accurate, she



After months of silence, Glaspie speaks

conceded, but her stern warnings that the U.S. would not tolerate the use of force against Kuwait had been deleted. She said she described those warnings in a confidential cable she sent to the State Department immediately after the meeting. If U.S. officials had made a mistake in dealing with Saddam, she contended, it was not to "realize that he was stupid-that he did not believe our clear and repeated warnings that we would support our vital interests."

Glaspie's impressive appearance before the committees left legislators all the more puzzled over why the Administration had refused to rebut the Iraqi version or clear up doubts about her toughness. Loyally. Glaspie refused to complain. "The Administration wanted to work on its job of collecting a coali-

tion and winning the war," she explained. State Department officials, concerned that Iraq might release

an embarrassing tape of the meeting, said last week that the U.S. had wanted to avoid "a debate" over the transcript during the diplomatic and war effort. Added Glaspie: "Now the war is over, and I was sent up here to answer your questions

The lawmakers treated her with respect, which is not how the Administration had behaved toward the 25-year foreign-service veteran, one of its top Arabists and the first woman to head a Middle East embassy. Ordered home on July 30 for consultations, Glaspie was not allowed to return to Baghdad. When the Iraqi transcript was made public. State Department officials said omissions had been made but it was basically accurate. Asked last fall about Glaspie's instructions for the meeting with Saddam, Secretary of State James Baker made no effort to support his ambassador. "What you want me to do is say that those instructions were sent specifically by me on my specific orders. There are probably 312,000 cables that go out under my name." Although Baker took eight aides to his Jan. 9 meeting with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Geneva, Glaspie was not among them, nor was she asked to join his postwar tour of the gulf earlier this month.

The Democratic chairmen of both committees asked the State Department to release Glaspie's cable describing her meeting with Saddam. If the State Department refuses, the issue will remain one of Saddam's word against Glaspie's. "I hope my credibility is at least as great as Saddam Hussein's," she said. Judging from her testimony, it is the Administration that must worry about credibility, not April Glaspic.

-By Christopher Ogden



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Does Land Still Buy Security?

A debate rages on whether Israel could safely return even a demilitarized Golan Heights to Syria

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

In heresy there may be hope. Views have been voiced lately in Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization that hard-liners on both sides damn as horrifying heresy. Those views have, of course, been officially repudiated. Even so, the mere fact that they could be uttered, out loud, indicates some potential cracks in official stone walls.

Heretic No. 1 is Bassam Abu Sharif, an adviser to P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat. In an interview televised in Britain, Abu Sharif hinted that a Palestinian state might not have to include every last bit of the West Bank; the implication was that Israel might keep part of that occupied territory. The P.L.O. disavowed any such idea, and The P.L.O. disavowed any such idea, and the words poetly offered to resign. Still, bits words poetly offered to resign. Still, bits words poetly in the P.L.O. Commencentional thinking within the P.L.O.

Hereties Nos. 2 and 3 are high-ranking Israelis. Speaking in Washington, Health Minister Ehud Olmert, a confidant of Prime Minister Vitubak Shamir, proclaimed Israel to he reachy for negotiations of starel to he reachy for negotiations of the Synass. Value of the Synass. Value well news conference in Tel Aviv, Dan Shomron, who retires in April as Israel's Chief of Staff, remarked cryptically that as part of a possible "political agreement [han] involves demiliarization, arms limiabout risk's; leverilory." Israeli right-wingers had no doubt that both were hitting at a long-umentionable both were hitting at a long-umentionable idea: giving up part or all of the Golander Heights. Syrian artillery firing from that har harren plateau once kept northern Israel under intermittent bombardment. Israel seized the heights during the Six Day War and ever since has insisted that retaining the territory is essential to its security. Jerussalem actually annexed the area in [98].

Shamir said he was "not happy with Olmert" and added that in any negotiation met" and added that in any negotiation "we shall say we do not agree to withdraw" from the Golan. The small rights Tehiya party threatened to quit the government coalition if the idea of withdrawing was so much as discussed in the Cabinet, Housing enough apartments in the heights to balloon the area's Jewish population from 11,000 to 31,000. (About 15,000 non-Jews, mostly Druze, also live there.)

Israel nonetheless can expect renewed argument from Washington, President Bush and his advisers hope to start a movement toward Middle Eastern peace with an Israeli-Syrian negotiation. Their view is that the heights should be returned to Syrian sovereignty and civil administration, but that the area should be demilitarized, patrolled by American troops or an international force.

The U.S. agrees that Israel cannot let Syrian tanks and artillery move back into the heights. But otherwise officials argue that possession of

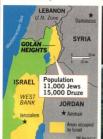
territory no longer contributes much to security in a missilearmed age. As the gulf war proved, one serious threat to Israel apart from ground attack is assuit by missiles that can whiz right over a buffer zone. Israel, says a Bush adviser, needs "political security as opposed to garrison security," and political security would be achieved by a peace treaty with Syria. The same argument theoretically would apply to the West Bank, but security is only one reason for Israel's refusal to let go of that land, an equally important one is the strong religious attachment many Jews feet toward the biblical Judea and Samaria.

Some Israeli military planeare content that the Golan and West Bank have become more, not less, essential to security. Without early warning devices there, they assert, warheads could hit krael before the civilian population could be warned to head for shelter. Even so, some military men speculate that if Israel kept is sufficient to the control of the country of

cast front neight-1900 forence. That may be what Olimert had in mind in an interview with Time. He insisted that, far from wanting to give up the Go-lan, he thought Israel should it yo negotiate. Syrjane fulliprolement of its claim. The control of the control o

His view is a long way from prevailing in Jerusalem—let alone Damascus, which in any talks is likely to insist on recognition of its effectual control of Lebanon as well as return of the Golan Heights. But the voices of Olmert and like-minded thinkers are unlikely to be drowned out, because they have logic on their side.

- Reported by Mary McC. Fernandez/New York and Robert Slater/Jerusalem



The Israeli town of Katzrin in the Golan Heights: inset: Chief of Staff Shomron





ngrad: they face declining military budgets and no prospect of catching the West

MILITARY STRATEGY

How Moscow and Beijing Lost the War

The allied victory is a sobering lesson for the world's two largest armies. It may be a prohibitively costly one.

By BRUCE W. NELAN

he commanders of the world's two largest communist armies have seen the future, and to their horror, it works. Generals in Moscow and Beijing are organizing conferences and ordering up studies, but their conclusions are already clear: neither the Soviet nor the Chinese armed forces can match the hightechnology weapons and tactics the U.S. displayed in its swift demolition of Iraq.

It is not just that American M1A1 tanks made scrap metal out of Soviet T-72s, which they did, or that Iraqi pilots of topof-the-line MiG-29s were unwilling even to engage U.S. planes, which they were. Worse, from the Soviet and Chinese points of view, is the fact that they have no counterparts to the Western weapons that won the war in its first few days-Stealth fighter-bombers, precision-guided munitions. electronic warfare. Hardest of all for the Soviet Union and China to accept is the near certainty that neither will be able to catch up with the U.S. anytime soon

In the decades after their successful revolutions, both communist giants built heavy tanks and artillery. Since the 1970s, their military leaders have also given lip service to the need for lighter, faster forces country actually moved into the modern best, and have to do better," says Stephen

and high-tech weapons. Partly out of bureaucratic inertia and largely because their economies were not up to the task, neither military age of microelectronics. "People talk as if the Soviets haven't done their Meyer, a military expert at M.I.T. "The point is, their best wasn't good enough."

Some of the conservative officers in Moscow are trying to pretend the Iraqi collapse never happened. Marshal Viktor Kulikov told a Soviet news agency that Iraqi soldiers had failed, not Soviet equipment. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, an adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, said any claim that the gulf war proved the superiority of American arms was 'sheer propaganda.'

That kind of bluster is wearing off, and other generals are drawing pointed lessons. Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov told the Supreme Soviet in Moscow that Iraqi air defenses "failed in most cases." Furthermore, "we have weak spots in the antiaircraft system, and we need to examine them." The suc-

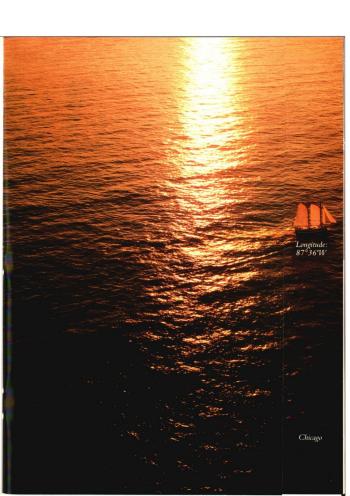
cess of the American F-117A Stealth fighter, of course, throws into question the effectiveness of the whole \$100 billion Soviet radarand missile-defense network.

The Soviets must also be shaken by the overwhelming speed, firepower and flexibility of the new American method of warfare, the doctrine called AirLand Battle, which combines air, ground and naval forces into one integrated onslaught. "They can't help being as impressed by the U.S. performance as they are depressed about what it means to their forces," says Raymond Garthoff of the Brookings Institution in Washington.

A few reformers in the Soviet officer corps admit as much in public. Colonel Alexander Tsalko, former director of an air force training center and now a member of the Soviet parliament, says Iraq's defeat shows that Soviet military doctrine and the structure of its forces are obsolete. "Some military authorities in this country," he



massive ground forces equipped with Chinese special forces train with knives: Beijing can supply little more than basic equipped





Soviet naval cad

MILITARY STRA

How Beiji

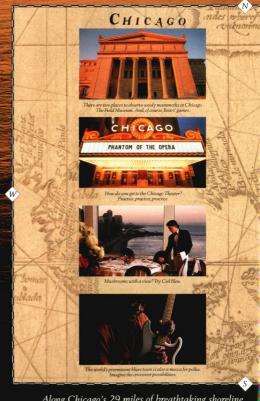
The allied largest arm

By BRUCE W. NE

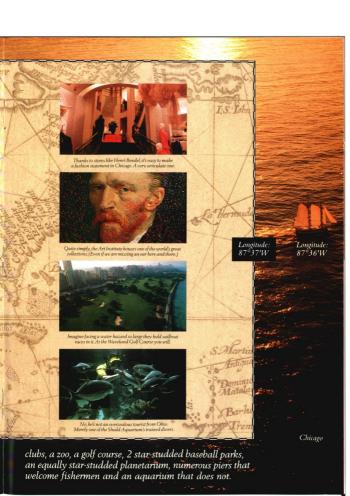
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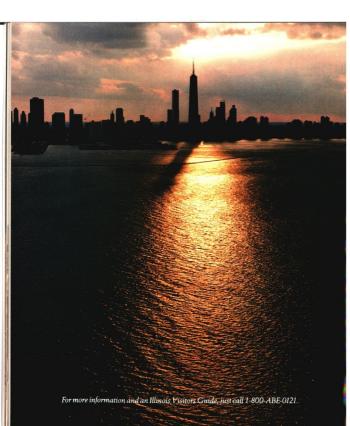
It is not just it made scrap me which they did, of-the-line MiG engage U.S. p Worse, from the of view, is the fat terparts to the the war in its fir er-bombers, prelectronic warfs Soviet Union a near certainty it catch up with the

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says, "still believe that the outcome of a war is determined by the clash of huge ground forces." That is "madness," he says, because the outcome in the gulf was determined by air power; Iraqi troops had no choice but to "keep their noses buried in the sand".

Most of Moscow's brass, however, is not aborbing that lesson and is simply demanding more money. That is in part a knee-jerk reaction, conditioned by a series of shocks to the military system, like the humiliation in Afghanistan, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and two years of major cuts in the defense budget.

ecause Gorbachev is relying heavily on the armed forces to keep him in office and maintain order in the country, he may ease off on future spending cuts-scheduled to reduce the defense budget 14.9% this year. But the Soviet economy is in such dire straits that it cannot provide the enormous amounts of money necessary to create the entire industries needed to duplicate U.S. battlefield technologies. "To be able to do as the allies did in the gulf," says Abraham Becker, director of the RAND-UCLA Center for Soviet studies, the Soviets "would have to revolutionize their economy." That is something Gorbachev has so far been unable to manage

China is even further behind in the high-eth stakes. A commentator in the militarly *Liberution Army Daily wrote of the galf Conflict. "We are seeing the warfare of the 21st century fought on the hatlethed to rousy." The galf buttles were the telled to rousy." The galf buttles were the telled to rousy. "The galf buttles were the insisted that a "people's war "of massed arisms swould defear any aggressor. Beijing began thinking about modernization recently, that with a defense budget of only \$6.16 billion last year, it is hard pressed to to its sarmy of 3 million.

Bejjing is eager to buy new arms from the Soviet Union, though it must be having some doubts about the quality of the merchandise these days. China announced two weeks ago that it would provide the U.S.S.R. with food, tea, cigarettes and other consumer goods worth 5730 million. In return it wants to buy combat aircraft, missiles and tanks.

If America's smart weapons make Soviethardware fook bad, there is another lesson for Moscow and Beijing to learn—one feel less pleasing to the West. Saddam Hussein's mobile missile launchers proved very difficult to counter, and even his primitive Souds, though little more than terror weapons, indicated the openital effectiveness of ballistic missiles. As a result, the Soviets and the common temporary on missiles and make a common temporary on missiles and make a common temporary on missiles and hand a factor weapons.

—Roported by Jaims A. Flockus, Bedlig and Bress videous Temporary and the source of the sourc



Enforcing the boycott: Moldavians burn a ballot box seized from a police station in Tiraspol

SOVIET LINIO

Gorbachev's Nightmare

What if Boris Yeltsin becomes the first elected president of the Russia republic, the biggest and wealthiest of them all?

W hile President Mikhail Gorbachev scored a victory of sorts in last week's national referendum on the Soviet Union's future, the big winner was his archival, Boris Yeltsin. At Yeltsin's urging, voters in the Russian Republic approved the idea of a popularly elected President. Yeltsin plans to seek that post, which is likely to intensify his confrontation with the Kremlin, on for the president of the property o

Record books will have to put bully footnotes under the 3-to-1 yes vote Gorbachev won for his proposal that the US.S.R. be preserved as "renewed federation." To begin with, six of the country's 57 republies, with a combined population of 21 million, officially boycotted the referendum. Of the country's 286 million people, 184 million were eligible to vote and, antionwide, 147 million went to the polls.

So while Gorbachev's proposal was approved by 76% of the people who voted, that is only 61% of those who could have done so. There is also the question of the almost Brezhnev-level statistics from the Central Asian Republics—all of them above 90% approval, with Turkmenistan the hitting 98%—which hint at possible vote fraud. There have been accusations of ballot tampering in some republics.

Yelisin's electoral triumph, on the other hand, was relatively unclouded. In Russia 70% of the voters said they wanted an elected President. But the route from the chairmanship of the republic's parliament, the position Veltsin owh olds, to the presidency is not unobstructed. This week, to the presidency is not unobstructed. This week coxample, he faces a parliamentary no-confidence vote, called by conservative Communists in an attempt to dump him from the chairmanship he narrowly won last the property of the presidency when the push through constitutional changes to create the presidency.

Yelsin is already the country's most popular politicals, and his prospects at the polits, file gets there, are improving through support from the increasingly powerful independent trade unions. Since March 1 jobs at 160 of the country's 600 coal mines. They support Yelsin's demand for Russian Control over Russia's natural resources and demand Gorbaches' resignation. "We don't believe this government could fulfull discount to the country's 600 country of the country of the

The deal with this inspinent revolution, of Gorbachev and his colleapues in the Communist Party and the Koß are expected to do everything they can to derail Yeltsin's presidential campaign. Even without a popular mandate as leader of Russia, Yeltsin has been challenge enough in Gorbachev's yees. As the elected head of government in the large set, weathhost crypblic, he would be a Reported by James Carmer and John Kohad Moscow.

BRITAIN

Trimming Around the Edges

Major kills Thatcher's poll tax and changes the tone of policy, but her philosophy goes marching on

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

I see a tendency to try to undermine what I achieved and to go back to more powers for

-Margaret Thatcher, March 8, 1991

margaret Thatcher never minced words during her 111/2 years as British Prime Minister, and will not do so now. But she exaggerates the changes her country's Conservative government has set in train since an intraparty revolt four months ago replaced her with her Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Major,

During her tenure, Thatcher effected changes in British life that are now probably beyond anybody's power, or even wish, to undermine; not even the Labourites, for example, would want to restore the stranglehold that unions exercised on the pre-Thatcher economy. Nor has Major shown much philosophical deviation from Thatcherism: the impulse to rely on private enterprise rather than government still rules.

But there are differences that go beyond the contrast between Major's low-key amiability and Thatcher's imperious hectoring. Less ideological and less combative than Thatcher, Major also is far more ready to dump a policy that is going wrong. He proved it last week by washing his hands of Thatcher's widely hated poll tax.

The levy, introduced over the past two years, replaced property taxes as a source of funding for local government. It was intended to make high-spending local councils, mostly Labour-controlled, accountable to the public by

ensuring that every adult, not just property owners, paid directly for local services. But the tax bore no relation to ability to pay; within a locality every adult was charged the same amount, although millions of poor people got rebates. Resentment boiled over into a major riot in Trafalgar Square.

The 1991-92 budget presented last week by Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont-inevitably dubbed Stormin' Norman by the press-calls for an immediate cut in the poll tax of \$250 a person, an average of 36%. That is to be offset by an in-

crease in the value-added tax, a kind of super sales tax, from 15% to 17.5%. Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine later announced that the poll tax would be scrapped entirely by 1993, but talked only

vaguely about what might replace it. The budget restricted tax breaks on mortgage interest paid by higher-salaried home buyers. Thatcher had opposed any measures that would discourage homeownership. It stepped up an already scheduled increase in the benefit paid weekly to mothers for each child; the new level will be \$16.56 for the eldest child, \$13.43 for younger ones. By contrast the budget imposed new levies on executives who receive "in-kind" benefits such as the use of company cars and mobile telephones; private car phones provided by employers will be taxed \$356 a year. These measures hardly add up to a change in direction, but they do mark a shift in the tone of policy toward more generosity to the underprivileged

and less to the well-off. Major has also changed the tone of

some British foreign policies. Like Thatcher he opposes any further political integration of the 12-nation European Community, but he does not share her aversion to greater economic unity. He said in a recent speech that Britain's "rightful place" was "at the very heart of Europe," a remark no one could imagine Thatcher making.

Many political analysts now think Major might call a general election in June before the glow of victory in the gulf is dimmed by Britain's recession. Inflation is coming down, and as price increases ebb, Major is reducing interest rates; last week's budget called for a further 2-point cut, to 13%. Businessmen, however, are unsure whether that is enough to produce an expected upswing by fall. Even if it does, unemployment, at a two-year high of 7% of the labor force, is expected to keep rising, perhaps to as much as 9% by the end of 1991

Since Major took over, the Tories have pulled from a deep deficit in the opinion polls to a 4-point lead over Labour. Even if Major wins, however, he would remain under the eye of a formidable presence. Thatcher has been grumbling lately that she was unseated as a result of a plot, a suspicion for which others can find no evidence. Last week she became president of a new group, Conservative Way Forward, dedicated to pushing Thatcherite policies; it will blow the whistle on any backsliding. Even out of power, this lady is not for turning. -By Anne Constable and William Mader/Lo



Lamont holds the

dispatch box used

to carry Britain's

budget to

Commons

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FOREIGN AID

Good Intentions, Woeful Results

How an ambitious environmental program ended up damaging the tropical rain forests

By EUGENE LINDEN



A new threat to the world's fast-diminishing rain forests has united the normally fractious environmental community. The organizations arrayed against this peril constitute a Who's Who of the environmental

movement: the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the World Wildlife Fund, the National Wildlife Federation and the Natural Resources Defense Council. Testifying before Congress, Bruce Rich, chairman of the Environmental Defense Fund's International Program, said none of these groups were "exaggerating when they say they fear that an environmental Frankenstein has been unleashed."

And just what is this monster? Sadly, it is a program originally intended to save the world's remaining rain forests. The Tropical Forestry Action Plan, or T.E.A.P., was perhaps the most ambitious environmental aid program ever conceived. Sponsored in 1985 by the World Bank, the U.N. and other groups, the initiative was designed to help the world's tropical countries come to groups, the initiative was designed to help the world's tropical countries come to group properties. With the help of international agencies. With the help of international species with the properties of the properties of the protecting its forests. T.F.A.P. would channel \$8 billion in aid over the next five years to implement those programs.

By now, efforts to slow tropical deforestation should have been in effect for years. Instead, sponsors had to convene in Geneva last month for what James D. Barnes of Friends of the Earth described as a "make or break" meeting to see whether the foundering plan could even be saved.

Few would deny the seriousness of the crisis that prompted T.F.A.P. Moist tropical forests cover just 6% of the earth's terres-



trial surface but contain at least 50% of the world's variety of insects, plants and animals. Throughout the world the forests are chopped to clear land, provide firewood or supply the timber market. A report issued in 1990 by the U.N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization shows that the rate of deforestation in the tropical world has accelerated 80% since 1980.

T.F.A.P. was the industrial world's large collective effort to help address the developing world's environmental problems. It was launched with assurances that the program would not repeat the mistakes of past development efforts, which included duplication of effort; rip-offs by contractors, consultants and corrupt officials; and a tendency to promote the donor's priorities at the expense of the Third World's. Unfortunately, the forestry plan ended up repeating many of these failings.

From the outset, T.F.A.P. seemed to have more to do with expert opinion in in-dustrial-world think tanks than with actual situations in tropical nations. Perplexed critica saked why India, with few remaining tropical forests, was targeted to receive \$1.2 billion, while Indonesia and Zaire, with huge forests, were to receive \$193 million and \$54 mil

It turned out that the authors of the original T.F.A.P. had chosen spending targets not by the size of their uncut tropical

forests but by their ability to digest large amounts of money. Says Bruce Rich: "It was a plan that was really devised according to the needs of the aid agencies rather than the needs of the countries."

Embarrassed by such missteps, the sponsoring organizations made the first of several attempts to fix T.F.A.P. Be patient, they advised waiting aid recipients; the plan was still evolving, and its shortcomings would be addressed. Despite reservations increasingly being voiced by sponsoring organizations, however, the program seemed to take on a life of its own

In country after country, proposed astion plans stressed such projects as the opening of previously pristine forests for exploitation. Noting that Cameron could become the "most important African producer and exporter of forestry-based products from the start of the 21st century," TEA-EN-1900 proposed construction of a 370-mel batt is home to \$100.00 prignt that forest that is home to \$100.00 pristing that the start of the wondered, by what logic do braining in entire pristing areas and financing logging-oprations help preserve uncut forests?

The logic of self-interest, as it turns out: the sponsors of T.F.A.P. created a plan that promised benefits to rich and poor nations alike if they adopted programs stressing forestry over conservation. By making the forestry department of the U.N.'s Rome-based







BORNEO: ancient rain forests are shrinking faster than ever IVORY COAST: weeding a rice field in a freshly cleared forest

Food and Agriculture Organization principally responsible for administering the overall plan, moreover, the sponsors made it likely that cutting trees would have high priority.

ut the organizations also made the mistake of selling the program in different ways to the rich nations and the Third World. Although touted to environmentalists in the industrial nations as a plan to save the forests, T.F.A.P. was sold to the Third World as one more source of funding for traditional forestry projects. Little wonder that the plans tended to be short on ways to slow deforestation. Said a development expert: "For officials in the Third World, environmental aid has become a new form of cargo cult: Go through the motions of doing these assessments, and cargo will come

The most serious problem, however, is that T.F.A.P. may be based on a flawed premise. Thomas Fox of the World Resources Institute doubts there is evidence to support the assumption that tropical forests can be harvested and managed without damaging the ecosystem. So little is known about the intricate codependencies that tie the myriad species of plants, animals and insects of these forests into a working system that some biologists wonder whether tropical forestry is sustainable at any commercial level. The plan has been all but disavowed by some of its original sponsors. James G. Speth, who as president of the World Resources Institute was instrumental in creating T.F.A.P., has described the plan as the "biggest disappointment of my six years at w.R.I.'

FAO director general Edouard Saouma, an autocratic executive who likes to run his own show, has fought to keep control. Under threat of a funding cutoff from the sponsoring organizations, however, the U.N. organization agreed in Geneva earlier this month to cede control of the program to an outside governing council and to participate in the program's redesign. For the moment, these decisions have partially mollified critics, who are willing to wait to see whether these actions will produce meaningful reform.

So far, T.F.A.P. has not fulfilled the most dire predictions of environmentalists, but only because very little of the \$8 billion intended for the Third World has actually been spent. Moreover, the plan has not been all bad. It offered a framework that brought rich nations together with Third World countries to begin dealing with tropical deforestation, "There are benefits to having global, one-stop shopping for the basic principles of forestry lending," says Barnes of Friends of the Earth.

Nor can it be said those criticizing T.F.A.P. are without sin. Tropical nations today find themselves besieged by international environmental groups, each promoting its own approach to conservation and planning. Some African nations are dutifully undertaking as many as seven different types of assessments, often with little coordination between the ministries involved. It was the fear of this type of scattershot approach that inspired creation of T.F.A.P. in the first place.

Perhaps the best thing to come out of the T.F.A.P. disaster is that the furor it triggered has forced major international organizations to pay attention to the complexities surrounding tropical deforestation. The World Bank has been harshly criticized for promoting development projects that lead to the destruction of tropical forests. But the bank's vast influence in poorer nations gives it the potential to be a major force in plans to save the forests.

There is little time to spare. An estimated 210 million acres (85 million hectares) of tropical forests have been burned, cut or flooded in the five years since T.F.A.P. was conceived. It is not too late for the world to act to save these intricate green engines of life, but efforts to help will come to naught if the rich nations do not first absorb the failings of the world's most ambitious environmental program to date.

World Notes



EDANCE

Comeuppance For a Bigot The price of Jean-Marie Le

Pen's inflammatory rhetoric is going up. When the leader of France's right-wing National Front party referred to the Nazi gas chambers as a "detail of history" in 1987, outraged

Holocaust survivors banded together to file suit. Last year a tribunal in Nanterre ruled against Le Pen and fined him a symbolic one franc. But rather than drop the case, Le Pen appealed the ruling, asserting it was a "freedom of expression issue." Last week the Court of Appeals in Versailles not only upheld the 1990 decision but drove the point home by increasing the fine to a not-sosymbolic 900,000 francs-\$180,000.

among the groups that filed the suit. In addition the court has ordered Le Pen to pay for announcements of the decision in 10 publications. Le Pen, who plans to appeal again, has called the proceedings against him an attack by "corrupt and hypocritical" politicians, Meanwhile, the cost of his verbal antics continues to mount. Earlier this month, a French court condemned him for an anti-Semitic comment and ordered him to ante up \$5,000 more.

YUGOSLAVIA

Humpty Dumpty

Making up is hard to do. Just ask Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. Last week, after six days of brinkmanship during which he threatened to break up Yugoslavia's presidency after first having failed to bully it, Milosevic decided to try to pick up the pieces of conciliation. Milosevic, The money will be divided who wants a strong central government dominated by Serbia, has been feuding bitterly with the independent-minded, noncommunist governments of Croatia and Slovenia.

The latest crisis erupted when the Serbian representative to Yugoslavia's collective presidency temporarily stepped down from his seat. He was protesting the other members' refusal to let the army quell the country's rampant eth- Street politics of brinkmanship

nic and civil strife, including demonstrations against Milosevic's autocratic rule in Serbia. The ploy, which angered Croatian and Slovenian members of the presidency, failed when the army decided to keep out of the fray. Said one Serbian opposition leader: "What was a drama has become a farce."



BRAZIL

Fatal Accusation

Does a man have a legal right to kill his wife if he suspects her of being unfaithful? For Brazilian men who invoked the "honor defense" in court to justify murdering their wives or girlfriends,

the answer was usually ves. Though the judicial strategy was never officially recognized, it was repeatedly used by lawvers to acquit their clients or get their sentences reduced. According to a report based on police records, 83% of the rapes, beatings and other attacks against women were inflicted by present or former husbands or lovers. Now the Superior Justice Tribunal in Brasília has rejected the honor defense as a valid legal argument.

Maria Aguinaga, a leading Rio de Janeiro feminist and counselor to the National Council for Women's Rights called it a landmark decision, but other observers warned that women still face discrimination

in the courts. "The jury is composed of common people who have been raised in a macho society," says Elaine Matozinho, chief of the women's crisis center at the police station in the city of Belo Horizonte. "The lawyers will continue to try to convince them that the victim is the guilty one, that she is responsible for her own murder."

GERMANY

Oh, How They Love That Trahi

During 40 years under communism, East Germans most missed the freedom to travel. to see the world that lay hidden beyond walls and fences. Perhaps that accounts for the runaway success of a thin little comedy called Go, Trabi, Go, which is filling movie theaters across united Germany.

The Trabi, of course, is the legendary two-stroke Trabant. the fume-spewing plastic jalopy built for nearly 27 years in what used to be East Germany. The movie stars



In a scene from the film, the Trabi tries some new mo

'Schorsch," a baby-blue Trabant 601 that takes the Struutz family-father, mother and daughter-from the grimy Saxon town of Bitterfeld to the balmy bay of Naples Along the way, Schorsch engages in a heap of high hilaritybahn, losing its bumper in Munich traffic, getting roughed up by West German car snobs, losing all four tires to pranksters during a camping stop, careening on two wheels in Rome, finally shedding its top in a near fatal spill near Mount Vesuvius and becoming a convertible.

choking to a stop on the auto-

Such Trabulations have drawn nearly a million German moviegoers since the film opened in mid-January. Director Peter Timm used 12 Trabis to shoot what will undoubtedly go down in film annals as the definitive, perhaps only, Trabi film. Production of the valiant sputterer will end at Zwickau in

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Ford Tempo

Honda Civic

Ford Thunderbird

Honda Prelude Hvundai Excel Jaguar XJ6 Jaguar XIS Lincoln Continental Lincoln Mark VII Mazda 323 Mazda Protege Mazda 626 Mazda RX-7 Mercedes 190 Mercedes 560SL Mercury Cougar Mercury Grand Marquis Mercury Sable Mercury Topaz Nissan 240 SX Nissan 300 ZX Nissan Maxima Nissan Pulsar NX Nissan Sentra Nissan Stanza Oldsmobile Calais Oldsmobile Ciera Oldsmobile Eighty-Eight Oldsmobile Ninety-Eight Oldsmobile Supreme Oldsmobile Toronado Plymouth Sundance Pontiac 6000 Pontiac Bonneville Pontiac Firebird Pontiac Grand Am Pontiac Grand Prix Pontiac Sunbird Saab 900 Saah 9000 Toyota Camry Tovota Celica Toyota Corolla Tovota Cressida

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THE W(**BEST LOVED**



DODGE CARAVAN.

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Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager have the Comparison of minivans with a sufficient sales history

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Masters of Deceit

How the men behind an audacious bank expanded it via global duplicity, touching Jimmy Carter, Arab sheiks and Manuel Noriega along the way

By JONATHAN BEATY AND S.C. GWYNNE

nvestigators say it is one of the most powerful and corrupt banks they have ever encountered. The shadowy \$30 billion offshore enterprise called Bank of Credit & Commerce International made headlines briefly when it was convicted of laundering drug money in the U.S. last year, but its story came home with shocking force to most Americans more recently, B.C.C.L. investigators have found, has for years secretly owned the largest bank in Washington, First American Bankshares, despite a decade of denials by one of the city's most respected figures, lawyer and First American chairman Clark Clifford. Bad enough that an unregulated foreign banking empire convicted of crimes in three countries evaded regulators to control a major U.S. bank with 297 offices from New York to Florida. All that, it turns out, is just

B.C.C.I. internal-audit documents reviewed by TIME and interviews with present and former B.C.C.I. banking officers in several countries reveal a pattern of unprecedented global financial duplicity. The bank may secretly control other U.S. banks. It has used front men to conceal ownership of businesses in many countries. Adeptly

deploying political influence around the world, say investigators, it has enlisted sovereign governments in shady financial deals built on its ability to control massive global flows of illegal funds, such as drug money and flight capital. It has involved itself with the central banks of more than 30 Third World countries and in return for extending credit has become sole banker for hundreds of nationalized corporations

Clifford and law partner Robert Altman, who is First American's president, are now under scrutiny by a New York grand jury seeking to determine whether the pair were knowing front men for one of the most ingenious bank tycoons of the modern age: B.C.C.I.'s founder, Agha Hasan Abedi of Pakistan. Clifford and Altman insist they were not, despite long and close connections. They were attorneys for B.C.C.I. from 1978 through 1990, as well as attorneys for First American, billing the two banks for more than \$1 million during that period, Clifford, who has long defended Abedi, says he is no longer so sure about the bank's ownership or Abedi's role. "I got the rawest deal of all by not being told what was going on," he told TIME, "If the Federal Reserve was deceived.

Clifford and Altman are not the only U.S. connections to B.C.C.I. that the New York grand jury is looking into. Investigators suspect that wealthy Saudi businessman Ghaith Pharaon, who purchased the troubled National Bank of Georgia from President Carter's friend and onetime budget chief Bert Lance and later sold it to First American, has been a front man for Abedi. Banking regulators are probing another Pharaon holding-Independence Bank in Encino, Calif.-to see if Abedi or B.C.C.L is the secret owner of that bank. And a federal grand jury in Miami is tracking Pharaon's and B.C.C.I.'s links to fraud-riddled CenTrust Savings, which thrift regulators took over last year.

Abedi's bank was designed from the first to appear to be financed by enormously rich Arabs from the gulf states. But sources close to the bank say that from the beginning, Abedi offered well-connected Arabs

PUCI HOLDINGS (TINKENSO)



Money Men

B.C.C.I. founder Agha Hasan Abedi, left: Abu Dhabi's Prince Khalifa, center, who with his father is B.C.C.I.'s new majority stockholder; Saudi tycoon Ghaith Pharaon, right



free stock in the bank by lending them the money to buy the shares without requiring repayment. Says an associate who has known Abedi since he created B.C.C.I. "Abedis's genius was that the took the Middle Eastern custom of using front men to disguise his real interests and control and applied it globally."

By every account, Abedi was a brilliam banker, and his financial empire was built to make the movement of money as invisible as possible. His tangle of offshore corporations, banks, trusts and foundations is one control of the property of the control of the con

This Price Waterhouse audit revealed a gaping hole in B.C.C.I.'s finances: insider loans and funds that vanished into offshore accounts

volved flight capital—"unofficial money," as they prefer to call it.

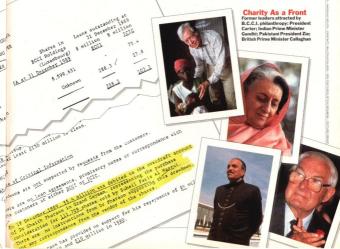
B.C.C.I.'s modus operandi for gaining political influence was as simple as its banking methods were convoluted. The formula: money. Abedi found his opening wedge in the U.S. in late 1976, when he looked to Georgia, home of then President-elect Carter, and the rotund personage of Carter confidant Bert Lance. In deep financial trouble with his National Bank of Georgia and beset by regulators for past banking indiscretions, Lance was all too glad to be put on B.C.C.I.'s payroll as a \$100,000-a-year consultant. Abedi declared Lance was his "unofficial ambassador...brought in to give us a vision of the U.S." and insisted "we would never talk about exploiting his relationship with the President.

Abedi began playing his Lance card imediately, introducing Lance to his close business associate Ghaith Pharaon in Washington In late 1977. Pharaon, then 36, was a Harvard-educated Saudi who had parlayed royal-family connections into a Jidda construction fortune. He and agroup of Arab investors from the galf and outfer that year acted as the contraction of the property of the pro

Lance that Pharaon was, fortuitously it seemed, looking for an American bank to buy. Lance had resigned in September as Carter's budget director under charges of impropriety and was still stuck with the National Bank of Georgia. Pharaon created a sensation by buying Lance's shares and acquiring control of the bank. Abedi also shored up Lance's still shaky finances with a \$3.4 million unsecured loan.

The Lance connection was paying off elsewhere as well. When Lance resigned, he hired Washington attorney Robert Altman to represent him. Through this connection, Abed imet Clifford, his key U.S. contact and a man who wielded precisely the sort of influence the Pakistani banker was looking for.

was Modellight and the state of the state of





calmed regulators, who allowed B.C.C.I.'s fronts to purchase Financial General, which they renamed First American.

The Lance connection eventually led to Jimmy Carter. When he left office, Abedi lent him B.C.C.I.'s corporate jet to replace Air Force One, donated \$500,000 to help establish the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, and began pumping donations into Carter's Global 2000 Foundation, which provided health care in the Third World, Sources close to B.C.C.I. say Abedi gave "millions" to the charitable project. Carter spokesmen would not confirm the amount but conceded that B.C.C.I. gave \$1.5 million last year (the former President was not available for an interview on the subject of Abedi). That gift was accepted after B.C.C.I. was indicted and convicted for laundering drug money, but Carter has indicated that Abedi remains a friend.

ew think that is a poor reflection of Carter: Abedi, a charismatic personality, has given millions each year to charities and has wooed numerous world leaders attracted to his Third World Foundation. Britain's Lord Callaghan, a former Prime Minister, was a paid economic adviser to B.C.C.I., and Pakistani President Zia was a staunch supporter. While Indira Gandhi was India's Prime Minister, she presented a prize established by B.C.C.I. "When I met him 20 years ago, says a close associate of Abedi's, "I looked into his eyes and saw God and the devil residing in perfect harmony, and I think nothing has changed."

A Price Waterhouse audit of B.C.C.I. completed in March 1990 and a supplemental audit completed the following monthboth own sought by U.S. investigating authorities—detail irregular transactions that have caused hundreds of millions of dollars to disappear. The documents also confirm that B.C.C.I. not the Middle Eastern investors of record, holds the controlling shares of First American.

The stunning audit showed serious banking irregularities and criminal acts involving

senior B.C.C.L executives, trustees and bank directors that have been hushed up. The audit traced insider loans, with funds parked in Bahrain and Panama, and "drawdowns not supported by requests from the customers," which is accounting jargon for money moved

regulators to keep his business affoat

which is accounting augmon for money moved out of accounts without documentation of any kind. Bank officials familiar with the animage of the account of the account of the reviewed by That confirm the Price Waterhouse findings. A secretive bank within the bank diverted depositors' funds to finance purported distributions that Abedi wanted to control from behind the scenes. In general such loans would never be repaid. According to loans would never be repaid. According to bank in the Camma Banks and \$\$18\times miles.

Ltd., a B.C.C.I. holding company in the Caymans, were funneled to fake shareholders for purchases of stock in transactions similar to the First American shuffle. By far the largest recipient of such loans was apparent front man Pharaon,

from International Credit & Investment Co.

Third World Influence
B.C.C.I. won banking privileges with
Jamaica's Edward Seaga, left, by providing
the government needed credits. For Peru's
Alan Garcia, right, it whisked central bank
funds into offshore accounts to conceal
them from creditor banks.

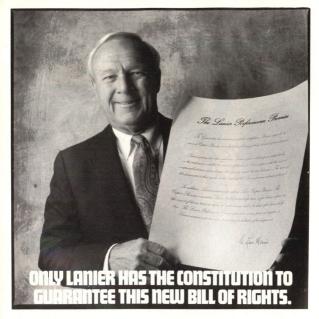
who got at least \$280 million. According to Price Waterhouse, the loans were "\$100 million in excess of limits" and exceeded 10% of the bank's capital base. Most banks would hesitate to lend anywhere near that amount of capital to a single customer. Auditors also found millions of dollars passing through Pharaon's and his brother's accounts, including stock sales and transfers, yet could find no loan agreements, promissory notes or correspondence to explain the activity.

B.C.C.I.'s careful control and influence over institutions and regulators are receiving the greatest attention in the U.S., vet pale in comparison with the bank's activities in the Third World, where by the early 1980s B.C.C.I. had become a potent geopolitical force, B.C.C.I. was especially adept at using offshore branches to help Third World countries frustrate attempts by international monetary authorities to force changes in their economies. The technique was perfected in Jamaica, where B.C.C.I. came to then Prime Minister Edward Seaga's aid when the International Monetary Fund refused to release \$60 million of aid because of unpaid debts. B.C.C.I. stepped in with \$48 million to straighten out Seaga's accounts after brokering the deal with the IMF, and passed the remainder of the IMF funds to the Jamaican government. In return, B.C.C.I. bankers insisted that Jamaica's central bank put its future business in B.C.C.L's hands.

Peru provides another intriguing example of how BC.C.I. came to wiseld unusual power over sovereign finances. When Alan Garcia Perze was elected President of Peru in 1985, he inherited a nation in economic chaos, owing \$14 billion to foreign banks and governments. The 36-year-old President stunned the international financial dent stunned the international financial cut stunned to the international financial er deal with the bare. But he would no longter deal with the bare.

Facing possible scizure of Peruvian assets overseas by Western creditor banks, Garcia turned to B.C.C.I. for help in protecting his national funds. So successfully was B.C.C.I. able to hide the money in offshore accounts that Garcia rewarded it with hefty central bank denosits.





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Business

A global bank with so much influence and secret power is more than all title worrisome to regulators. Yet B.C.C.I. has been remarkably successful in using process and surrogates to frustrate and even paralyze legislates to frustrate and even paralyze legislates to frustrate and even prarlyze legislates to frustrate and even practices and the process of the surrogate and the frustrates to expand its investigation of money laundering list year. "I thought we were going to continue," says a former U.S. processor involved in the case. "We were processor involved in the case." We were American, but nothing ever hamponed."

When the Florida state comptroller announced he was going to vank B.C.C.I.'s license to operate in the state after the conviction, he received a peculiar letter from the Justice Department in Washington. "We are ... requesting that B.C.C.I. be permitted to operate in your jurisdiction with the understanding that certain accounts may be maintained by the bank at the request of the Department of Justice which otherwise would be closed to avoid legal and regulatory violations," wrote Charles Saphos, then chief of the Criminal Division Narcotics section. "I was con-fused by what they wanted," says Florida Comptroller Gerald Lewis. "But when I asked them if they wanted the bank to stay open because of national security reasons or an investigation, they wouldn't give a clear answer." Lewis closed the bank.

The political value of Abedi's connections to wealthy Middle Easterners was never more apparent than in the case of CenTrust Savings Bank of Miami. Con-Trust, acquired by real estate developer David Paul in 1983 and now infamous as the S&L that spent its money on bathroom sinks made of pure gold, raised eyebrows in the regulatory community in the mid-1980s when it invested massively in junk bonds.

When regulators began circling closer in 1987, Paul acquired new partners in the form of Ghaith Pharaon and his invisible sponsor, B.C.C.I. With Pharaon came the presence of apparently deep Saudi pocks, which was precisely the assurance Paul and Pharaon gave when they met in 1987 Bank Board's then chairman, M. Danny Wall, to argue that the bank would be able to meet its commitments.

he result was that, instead of closing the bank, regulators in 1988 agreed to let Cen' Trast float 320 million in honds to shore it up. B.C.C.L. contributed \$25 million of that amount. Bank regulators thus postponed Cen'Trast's death by more than a year and raised the cost of the eventual bailout by hundreds of millions. In the grand jury investigation in Mamii, Abedi's bank stands accused of parking the \$25 million temporally to dress up Cen'Trast's books for the

regulators.

B.C.C.I. has been in financial trouble since its money-laundering conviction and

has turned for help to one of its original sources of funds: the ruling family of Abu Dhabi and its head, Sheik Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, reportedly one of the world's richest men. Last year Zayed and his son Prince Khalifa acquired 77% of the bank and pumped in at least \$600 million against the huge shortfall revealed by the Price Waterhouse audit. It is far from clear that even this infusion will save the bank. Among other irregularities, the audit showed \$400 million simply unaccounted for. Add to that a billion dollars of insider loans to front-men shareholders-loans that were never meant to be repaid-plus unspecified numbers of bad loans, and much remains to be sorted out.

And what of Abedi, the genius behind it all? His heart attack and a later heart transplant stopped his direct control of B.C.C.I. in 1988, which proved disastrous for the bank. Already in trouble from too rapid expansion, and dependent on constantly increasing deposits to keep the cooked books from revealing the growing problems, B.C.C.I. could not hold together without Abedi-as the audit released last year revealed. He resigned officially from the bank last year, and is living in semiretirement in Karachi. Authorities in several countries would surely like to get their hands on him. His connections with Pakistan's political and military leaders make it unlikely, however, that he will ever be tried or extradited. - With reporting by Adam Zagorin/ Brussels, and other bureaus

Piercing the Scam's Heart

The Rolls-Royces and Bentleys pulling up in front of B.C.C.L's opinient London office on March 14, 1990, could have signaled a routine meeting of bank directors and officers. The occasion tumed out instead to be the darkets day in the high-flying private bank's 18-year history. Key officials received the starting news that the world's fastes; growing international bank, no longer headed by its financial geints founder, was in the starting news made to the signal and the starting news that the world's fastes; growing international bank, and bang and the signal and the starting news that the world is fastes of the signal and the s

accumulating interest charges had grown so large they could not be ignored. The reason for the grim announcement was an audit by the British office of the Price Waterhouse accounting firm that revealed for the first time the rot at B.C.C.L.'s core—a black hole consisting of at least \$1.7 billion and perhaps far more.

According to the audit, much of the money disappeared after being passed to International Credit & Investment Co. Overseas Ltd., a secret, unregulated Cayman Island subsidiary known to only a handful of B.C.C.I. officials. Depositors who thought they were placing money—apparently hundreds of millions—into B.C.C.I.'s Cayman bank didn't realize that it was being whisked into the I.C.I.C. bank to disguise its true origins and eventual destinations. From there the money trail evaporated in a series of loans and undocumented transfers.

Price Waterhouse in the Cayman Islands, an entity separate from the British firm, had earlier performed another fascinating audit. TiMe weed an Oct. 18, 1985, Report of the Auditors to the Members of International Credit & Investment Co. (Overseas) Ltd., which said, "Customer deposits consist of confidential accounts which are not conducted as onen

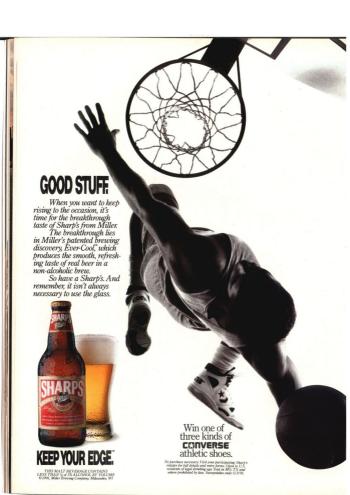
accounts requiring periodic dispatch of statements, Furthermore, Decause of company policy we have not been able to comlina any deposit balances directly with customers, and therefore it is not possible for our examination of such accounts to extend beyond the amounts recorded. "With his highly unusual qualification, the firm signed off on the accounts of the entity through which millions passed into a banktonian through which millions to the comtonian through the comtonian through the comtonian through the comtonian through which will be supported to the comtonian through through the comtonian through the comtonian through the comtonian through through through through through the comtonian through the comtonian through through through through through the comtonian through through through the comtonian through through through the comtonian through through through through the comtonian through through through through the comtonian through th

"Because of company policy, we have not been able to confirm any deposit balances..."

> -Price Waterhouse, Grand Cayman

TIME, APRIL 1, 1991

5



Business Notes

WALL STREET

A Bad Case Of the Blues

Few stocks can move the market like Big Blue. IBM, whose \$63 billion value ranks No. 1

among U.S. public companies, is America's most heavily traded stock, typically accounting for at least 25% of the stock market's activity. Last week the world's largest computer company demonstrated its mighty influence when it stunned Wall Street with a disappointing earnings report. Af-

ter IBM announced Tuesday | and NCR, whose stocks also fell that first-quarter profits would be \$514 million instead of the

\$1.03 billion analysts had expected, the stock plunged, cutting the company's value \$7 billion in a single day. The rest of the market followed, tumbling 62 points in the biggest one-day loss since Oct. 9. The market lost 89 points for the week, onethird of the decline attributed to IBM.

With 61% of its revenues coming from abroad, IBM blamed an international economic slowdown and the Persian Gulf war for

poor earnings. Big Blue's bad news was especially troubling for other computer companies, such as Digital Equipment

as traders anticipated similar earnings declines.



A Tale of Two Cities

How's business at America's casinos? It all depends on where you look. In the nation's oldest gaming market, Las Vegas, winnings rose 14% last year and profits were up 25%, to \$648 million. But in Atlantic City. where gambling has been legal since 1976, business has been a crapshoot at best. The city's dozen boardwalk casinos last week reported combined losses of \$266 million for 1990, the first annual losses in a decade. One of the biggest losers. Donald Trump, whose Plaza, Castle and Taj Mahal gaming houses lost \$174 million.

Analysts blame the slow economy for only a part of Atlantic City's dismal showing. Unlike Las Vegas, the New Jersev coastal town has no major airport or convention center and is not open 24 hours a day. Concludes gaming analyst David Leibowitz, with restraint: "Atlantic City can't outglitz Las Vegas.'

under a contract that barred

Disney from making "transcrip-

tions" of her work without her

consent. Lee had received just

\$3,500 for her contributions to

AIRCRAFT

The Buddy System

To the ever expanding lexicon of corporate jargon you may now add "risk-sharing partnership." That's how Boeing chairman Frank Shrontz describes arrangements like the one between his company and Germa-



A Boeing factory making what goes up

ny's Deutsche Airbus/Deutsche Aerospace, which announced plans for a joint research effort last week. The risk the two giant jetmakers may share: development of a supersonic highspeed civil transport, an updated and larger Concorde-type airliner that could whisk 300 passengers at twice the speed of sound.

Boeing has also signed a memorandum of understanding with France's Thomson CSF stating that the two companies will work together on aerospace products. Such alliances with potential competitors are a reaction to the giant cost of the next generation of airliners and the giant marketplace of post-1992 Europe. Other companies seem likely to heed the new lesson: If you can't beat 'em. join 'emand share the risk.

LITIGATION

Victory for A Video Voice

"Is that all there is?" singer Peggy Lee crooned in one of her biggest hits. Well, no. A Los Angeles jury last week awarded

Lee at least \$2.3 million of the profits Walt Disney Co. has racked up on videocassettes of its 1955 classic, Lady and the Tramp. Lee, 70, who sang four parts and co-wrote six songs for the animated film, sought \$50 million The Tramp and Lady

the film

Other vocal talents are rushing to claim a share of the video profits from Disney cartoons. Ilene Woods Shaughnessy (Cin-

derella) filed a \$20 million suit in December, and opera singer Mary Costa (The Sleeping Beauty) has filed suit for \$2 million, Look-and listen-for more performers to follow.



The awesome performance of U.S. missiles and fighter planes in the gulf war seemed a reassurance of America's technological prowess. But an alarming report last week by the nonprofit Council on Competitiveness raises new questions about the nation's high-tech health. The council examined 94 critical technologies and found the U.S. leading the

world or holding its own in 61 and trailing in 33 others. While America remains strong in biotechnology, artificial intelligence and aerospace, it is falling behind or losing in lasers, computer chips and robotics.

The council urged Washing-

ton to increase federal research spending for nonmilitary technologies. The U.S. government spends two-thirds of its research money on defense and devotes just 0.2% to commercial high tech, in contrast to 5% spent by Japan and 15% by Germany.

Weighing Some Heavy Metal

The Supreme Court rules that potential health risks to a fetus are no excuse to discriminate against women in the workplace

By JILL SMOLOWE

W hich matters more, the rights of a fertile woman to work in the job she wants and is qualified for, or the rights of employers to impose work rules to protect her unborn children?

That was the question the Supreme Court faced last week as it addressed for

the first time the controversial issue of industrial fetal-protection policies. The Justices' answer, in a decision that could affect millions of workingwomen: companies cannot exclude fertile females from certain highrisk jobs because of the potential harm to unborn babies, "Women as capable of doing their jobs as their male counterparts may not be forced to choose between having a child and having a job," wrote Justice Harry Blackmun in a majority opinion for five Justices, "Decisions about the welfare of future children must be left to the parents who conceive, bear, support and raise them rather than to the employers who hire those parents.

The unambiguous ruling in the case of Automobile Workers v. Johnson Controls, Inc., which overturned an appellate court decision, was immediately hailed as a major victory by women's rights activists, labor unions and civil liberties groups. "The court made it clear today that sex discrimination is not a legal solution to workplace hazards," said Judith Lichtman, president of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, "The Justices struck down a sex-based policy that threatened to deny 15 million to 20 million industrial jobs to women.

Big Business, on the other hand, greeted the ruling with disappointment and skepticism. Corporate officials feared that a number of companies may be exposed to large damage suits once they revise policies that the court has now found to be in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sex discrimination. Johnson Controls, a Milwaukeebased manufacturer of automobile batteries, is just one of more than a dozen m companies-among them, Gulf Oil, B.F. Goodrich, General Motors and Du Pontthat now must reconsider fetal-protection

The Supreme Court decision ended a seven-year battle over safety policies at 13

factories operated by the battery-making firm, which uses large quantities of lead in its manufacturing processes. Johnson Controls strictly excluded women capable of bearing children from any job where lead readings reached specified levels. Company officials acted on the grounds that medical evidence indicated that contamination of a mother could cause seri-

r, and four of the other victorious pla

son Controls' practices. Last October, when the case was argued before the court, Scalia, who has fathered nine children, took the company's lawyer to task for making "a farce of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act." That act, a 1978 amendment to Title VII. ensured that federal antibias protections cover pregnant workers. In another concurring opinion, Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Anthony Kennedy and Byron White upheld the majority decision but allowed that there may be instances where "sex-specific fetal protection policy" is justifiable

The affected companies made clear that they would begin searching for alternative safeguards. Du Pont health-and-

> "Congress made clear that the decision . . . to work while being either pregnant or capable of becoming pregnant was reserved for each individual woman to make for herself."

> > -Harry Blackmun

ous damage to the nervous system of any fetus she carried. In supporting the company two years ago, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that those who opposed Johnson had failed to show how anything less than a sweeping measure would eliminate the hazard.

In last week's decision, however, Justice Blackmun found the discriminatory nature of the policy to be a more palpable danger. "The bias in Johnson Controls" policy is obvious," he wrote. "Fertile men, but not fertile women, are given a choice as to whether they wish to risk their reproductive health for a particular job." Blackmun was supported by Justices Thurgood Marshall, Sandra Day O'Connor, John Paul Stevens and David Souter, who as the newest member of the court was weighing in with his first significant vote on a women's rights issue.

Justice Antonin Scalia would have allowed companies only a little more latitude. In a concurring opinion, he suggested that in rare instances employers might be permitted to exclude pregnant women from jobs where the ensuing costs for ensuring a woman's health care would be 'inordinately expensive." But Scalia had already telegraphed his rejection of Johnsafety vice president Bruce Karrh said the company would continue to inform workers about workplace hazards. "The only difference," he says, "will be that instead of us making the decision, they'll have the option." Du Pont may also consider requiring women of childbearing years to wear additional protective clothing in high-risk areas. Denise Zutz, director of corporate communication at Johnson Controls, said her firm would also "doubtless consider going back to some sort of voluntary policy." as had been the company's practice prior to 1982.

For at least some of the eight plaintiffs in the case, the victory was bittersweet. In 1984 Gloyce Qualls, 41, was involuntarily transferred from a high-risk area at Johnson Controls, where she welded posts onto batteries, to a safer workplace, where she cleaned and installed vents in motorcycle batteries. The move halved her salary. To get back to the higher-paying post, Qualls underwent tubal ligation. She subsequently married and now regrets that she can no longer bear children. 'Nothing really would make up for it,' she says, "But this decision will help other women." - Reported by Marc Hequet/St. Paul and Julie Johnson/Washington



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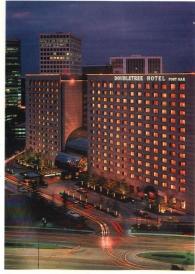
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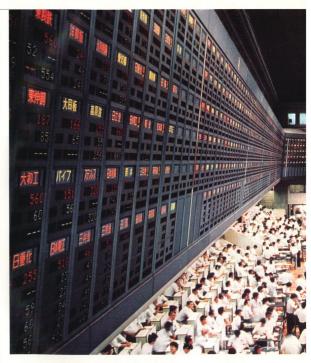
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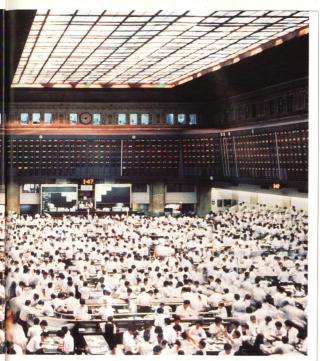
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The sprawling capital is suffering from its smoggiest winter in history

Environment

Mexico City's Menacing Air

The shutdown of a refinery will only begin to curb a toxic cloud



The people of Mexico City call it nata, or scum. It is the sickly brown cloud that stub-bornly hangs over the megalopolis, home to 23 million people. Composed primarily of carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and

ozone, the smog has made the winter of 1991 the most toxic in Mexico City history, triggering a 16% to 20% jump in the incidence of respiratory infections, nosebleeds and emphysema. Since September, the city has enjoyed only six dogs in which noxious gases did not exceed danger levels. "The antionistic passes of the control of the con

Last week the worsening conditions prompted Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari to step up his antipollution and sed Gortari to step up his antipollution acmpaign by shutting down the giant oil refinery at Azcapotzaleo in northwestern (1933, the Mexico City, 100 portation since 1933, the Mexico City, 100 portation since 1933, the facility had provided 34% of the city's gasoline and 85% of its diese flued. But it also spewed as much as 88,000 tons of contaminants into the atmosphere each year and was responsible for up to 7% of the city's industrial air pollution.

Curbing the toxic cloud does not come cheap. The oil facility's shutdown will cost \$500 million, put more than 5.000 people out of work, and require Mexico to import, at least temporarily, some refined petroleum. But even this dramatic move represents only a beginning. Three-quarters of Mexico City's air pollution comes from the capital's antiquated fleet of 15,000 smoke-belching buses, 40,000 taxis and almost 3 million automobiles. Afready the government has revamped 3,500 buses with new, less polluting engines. Last week President Salinas announced a \$1.3 million program to replace outmoded taxis and buses. "Let's leave a clean capital in the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children," he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of our children, "he salin the hands of

The improvements come none too soon, since 1982, the amount of contaminants in the air has more than tripled, to 7 million toons. Because the capital lise 2.240 m (7.344 ft.) above sea level, fossil fuels do not burn mal. During the calm winter months, the mountains that encried the city tray the polluted air close to the ground in atmospheric sandwiches known as thermal inversions.

Fortunately, inversions generally dissipate after a few hours, and there is a break of at least a few more hours before another inversion occurs. As the air grows more polluted, however, environmentalists fear the creation of a lethal inversion that remains fixed for days-like the one that killed 20 people in the smokestack town of Donora, Pa., in 1948 or the killer fog that claimed the lives of 4,000 people in London in 1952. Even with the closure of the Azcapotzalco refinery, both Mexico's government and its industry will have to work harder at controlling pollution for years to come before the people of Mexico City can - By Christine Gorman. breathe easier. Reported by Laura López/Mexico City

Milestones

BORN. To Valerie Bertinelli, 30, who played the dependable kid sister Barbara on TV's One Day at a Time (1975-84), and her husband, heavy-metal guitarist Eddie Van Halen, 34: their first child, a son; in Santa Monica, Calif. Name: Wolfgang William Van Halen. Weight: 7 lbs. 13 oz.

DIED. Conor Clapton, 4½, only child of gairtaris Eric Clapton and Italian actress and television personality Lory. Del Santo; from an accidental fall out an open 53rdfloor apartment window; in New York City, The boy's death is the latest of a long list of personal tragedies in the life of the 45-year-old bloss musician. The city is investigating the dwelling's lack of a window guard to protect the boy.

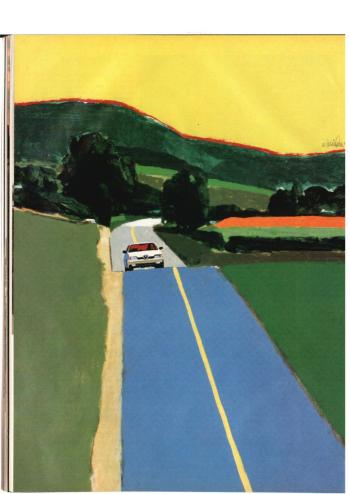
DIED. Dave Guard, 56, co-founder of the Kingston Trio, whose hit records included *Tom Dooley, M.T.A.* and *Scotch and Soda;* of lymphoma; in Rollinsford, N.H.

DIED. Fortunata Sydnor Trapnell Vanderschmidt, 61, indefatigable science reporter-researcher for TIME from 1959 to 1980; of a brain tumor; in Sharon, Conn. Thanks in large measure to Vander-schmidt's mastery of complex subjects, the Science section garanered a multitude of Science section garanered a multitude of place of the section of the sect

DIED. Nick Vanoff, 61, award-winning TV and theater producer, of cardiac arrest; in Los Angeles. Originally a dancer, Vanoff helped produce a number of TV his in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, among them Steve Aller Stonight, Bing Crosby and Andy Williams specials, The Milton Berle Show, The Sonny and Cher Show and The Julie Andrews Hour, for which he won one of his five Emmys.

DIED. Clarence Loo Fender, 81, inventor of the 1954 Stratocaster, the electric guitar whose design has become an industry standard; in Fullerton, Calif. Favored by rock legends such as Buddy Holly and Jimi Hendrix, the Strat has been used to play everything from country to blues to heavy metal. An original worth \$300 in 1954 can fetch up to \$15,000 today.

DIED, John D. Voelker, S7. Michigan jurist and author of the 1958 bets selfer-Anatomy of a Murder, adapted into Otto Preminger's gripping film starting James Stewart, Lee Remick, Ben Gazzara and George C. Scott: in Ishperming, Mich. Voelker, a former prosecutor and state supreme cour justice, worde the novel unsuperned to the property of the proper



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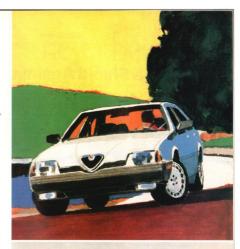
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Forging a Shield Against AIDS

Vaccines are in the works, but how should they be tested and who should pay?

By ANDREW PURVIS

hat might have been a methodical, scientific quest has turned into a wild crapshoot. In more than 60 laboratories around the world, researchers are working with at least 40 different concoctions in pursuit of one of medicine's most urgent goals: the development of an AIDs vaccine. Any team that succeeds will reap fame, fortune and the satisfaction of possibly wiping out a disease that ranks among the deadliest scourges ever to afflict humanity.

But first it will be necessary to bring some order to the bewildering array of options. While there are still some doubts that an ideal vaccine can actually be created, some researchers believe that enough good candidates now exist to warrant drastically narrowing the search and selecting the best and the most effective experimental vaccines for major trials in humans. Last month at a meeting of the Institute of Medicine in Washington, scientists and health officials began to lay the groundwork for trials in the U.S. and other nations. In April researchers from the World Health Organization (WHO) will begin visiting countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to locate groups in which such studies might be conducted.

such experiments has raised thorny economic, political and ethical questions that some researchers fear could interfere with the introduction of a lifesaving vaccine. "If one of these trials goes badly, we would lose not only time, but we could lose the opportunity to test an AIDS vaccine altogether," said Dr. Jonathan Mann, professor of epidemiology and international health at Harvard. "It's very important that they be done right.

But even early planning for

The basic principle behind such human tests has changed little since the 19th century. Several thousand people at high risk for the disease will be inoculated with the experimental agent, most likely an altered version of the AIDS virus (HIV) or some portion of it. The vaccine should not be

WAYS TO TRIGGER IMMUNITY



being tested to see if they provoke the body into mounting an immune response that blocks the AIDS virus (HIV). Researchers stress that none have yet protected humans from infection and that significant obstacles remain. Any successful vaccine must stop the virus before it can infect a single cell, no matte

where or under what conditions the invasion occurs. In addition, since the virus is ely variable, a vaccine that works in Uganda, for instance, may not work in the U.S., or even in another African country. Four different kinds of vaccines:

Whole killed HIV is killed and then in an effort to trigge Disabled HIV is altered by genetic engineering just enough to causing AIDS. But the virus stimulates the body's defense system.

vaccines

Altered

Description

These vaccines consist of one or more genetically engineered proteins that resemble those found in HTV

Vaccinia the virus used smallpox, is subtly Other candidates for this technique include cine is safe and can ction, but that does

dangerous enough to cause the disease, but enough like HIV to confer immunity by triggering the production of antibodies and other virus-fighting components of the immune system. The subjects in the trial will be carefully monitored to see if they have a better record of avoiding infection than groups who were not vaccinated.

The theory seems simple enough, but the peculiar epidemiology of AIDS has already raised disturbing issues about how these trials will be conducted. In particular, the populations at greatest risk for the disease-including drug abusers, prisoners and prostitutes in the U.S., as well as truck drivers and military recruits in some African countries-are not ideal candidates for a structured scientific trial. Drug abusers and prostitutes may be transients who are not easy to monitor, and inadequate transportation and communications in many African countries will hurt efforts to keep track of volunteers

Scientists, moreover, cannot guarantee that these trials will be risk free. If a vaccine is made from a whole AIDS virus, for example, there will be a slight danger that some of those vaccinated will get the disease. In 1955, during early testing of the polio vaccine, 80 children in California got the illness from improperly prepared shots. Even if the immunization works and produces large amounts of antibodies to HIV, participants will have to cope with the social stigma of being HIV positive. The antibodies generated by a vaccine are the same ones that doctors look for when they test for AIDS. Thus researchers are concerned that participants in the studies could suffer the same discrimination-in getting health insurance or a job, for example that plagues people with AIDS around the world.

One uniquely troubling aspect of these trials is that many of the subjects in Africa, and elsewhere in the Third World, are unfamiliar with the ways of Western medicine and may not fully comprehend the risks of participating. Explains Dr. David Heymann, chief of the re-

search office at the WHO Global Program on AIDS: "It is vital that African volunteers understand that they are getting an experimental product that might not work." Without such "informed consent." doctors cannot in good conscience carry out their research, and may face charges that they are using people as guinea pigs. "The problem," concluded a report from last month's meeting at the Institute of Medicine, "will be to avoid what has been called 'safari research' or 'medical imperialism' while gathering the necessary

data. The delicacy of these human tests greatly increases the need for cooperation between the drug companies that ordinarily foot much of the bill for vaccine re-

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Science

search and various government and intergovernment agencies that are trying to ensure that the product gets to the people who need it most. Yet so far such cooperation has been sporadic at best. A report issued this month by the National Academy of Sciences notes that there is currently no way of telling which of the scores of candidate vaccines are the most promising, since relatively few have been tested against each other in head-to-head comparisons. Unless investigators financed by different companies and by the National Institutes of Health are willing to work together, the report concludes, discovery of a useful vaccine could be dangerously delaved. Dr. Wayne Koff, head of AIDS-vaccine research at the NIH, worries that researchers will be too inclined to stick with their own projects rather than pool their resources.

n addition, some health officials are concerned that drug-company investigators may be ignoring a particular kind of vaccine-those using a whole virus-not because they are less promising scientifically, but because they carry a slightly greater risk of infection and, in turn, a greater potential for liability suits. In fact, some scientists contend that the threat of such suits has kept many major drug companies out of vaccine research altogether. To combat this chilling effect, the NAS report urges Congress to provide drug

companies with liability protection. Perhaps the most difficult ethical question is the cost of the vaccine. A successful shot that sells for an exorbitant price will be of little use to most Africans, who have no more than a few dollars a year to spend on health care. Nine years have passed since the discovery of a vaccine for hepatitis B, a viral disease that, like AIDS, is spread by sexual contact and the sharing of hypodermic needles. But the product has yet to reach many people in poor U.S. neighborhoods and Third World countries largely because it costs more than \$120 a shot. It would be a gross injustice, says Harvard's Mann, if Africans helped develop an AIDS vaccine by taking part in trials only to see it priced out of the reach of their countrymen. To prevent such a situation, Mann recently proposed that Congress offer drug companies an extension on exclusive marketing rights for other lucrative drugs in exchange for keeping the price of an AIDS vaccine down. Says he: "This is the time to make a deal, not after the vaccine is on the market.

Many researchers are hopeful that regulators, vaccine manufacturers and individual investigators will put aside their differences when the best candidate emerges from the laboratories. If they do not, one of the greatest medical feats of this century may be remembered not just for the lives it saved but also for the victims it failed to

Thin Skins and Fraud at M.I.T.

A famed researcher backs away from a discredited paper

he case should have been settled nearly five years ago. That is when an obscure postdoctoral fellow at M.I.T. first charged that a celebrated scientific article signed by some of the university's leading biologistsincluding Nobel laureate David Baltimore-was based on data that had been fudged. But rather than reopen the experiment (which involved introducing foreign genes into a mouse and observing the effect on the animal's own genes), the scientists, led by Baltimore, closed ranks. The junior researcher, Irish-born Margot O'Toole, was asked to give up her place in the lab. The senior scientist accused of misconduct, a gift"new McCarthy." Dingell called in the Secret Service, which began going over lab notebooks with the forensic equivalent of an electron microscope.

What the Secret Service found, according to the NIH draft report, was a pattern of data falsification that began before the 1986 paper was published and continued, in a clumsy effort to cover up earlier misdeeds, into the late 1980s. The report raised questions about whether some crucial experiments were ever performed at all. Faced with the evidence, Baltimore has finally moved to distance himself from the work done by Imanishi-Kari. In a statement issued

THE WHISTLE BLOWER



Margot O'Toole



THE ACCUSED

Thereza Imanishi-Kari



David Baltimore

ed Brazilian immunologist named Thereza Imanishi-Kari, went on to win a prestigious appointment at nearby Tufts University.

But the story did not end there. Seized on by some tenacious watchdogs at the National Institutes of Health, the case became a symbol of the fallibility and arrogance of modern science-and of overnment attempts to police science. The affair reached a critical point last week when a preliminary NIH report of the latest investigation was leaked to the press. That draft asserts that Imanishi-Kari faked her results and that Baltimore failed to take the allegation seriously enough.

Those conclusions come only after probes by two different NIH committees and three separate congressional hearings over the past three years. The highlight was an icy confrontation in May 1989 between Baltimore and John Dingell, the powerful chairman of the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. At the time, the scientific community rallied behind Baltimore, one of its brightest stars, calling the hearings a "witch hunt" and Dingell a

from Rockefeller University, where he is now president, he acknowledged that "very serious questions" had been raised, and for the first time asked that the original paper be retracted. He left it to Imanishi-Kari-who faces a possible cutoff of federal research funding-to explain what went wrong.

Baltimore and his former colleagues at M.I.T. owe O'Toole an apology, if not a job. And like other scientists currently facing critical scrutiny-including AIDS researcher Robert Gallo and cold-fusion gurus Martin Fleischmann and B. Stanley Pons-they owe it to themselves to take a close look at their thin-skinned response. Making mistakes is part of science. But blindly denying the possibility of error goes against the heart of the scientific method. Baltimore seems to have worried more about a colleague's reputation than about the truth of a junior researcher's complaint. In the end, he damaged not just his own reputation but science's as - By Philip Elmer-DeWitt, Reported by Sam Allis/Boston and Dick Thompson/

Upside Down in the Groves of Academe

In U.S. classrooms, battles are flaring over values that are almost a reverse image of the American mainstream. As a result, a new intolerance is on the rise.

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

magine places where it is considered racist to speak of the rights of the individual when they conflict with the community's prevailing opinion. Where it is taboo to debate the moral fitness of homeosculas as parents, and sexist to order a Domino's pizza because the chain's chairm and onates money to an antibarbarion group. Imagine institutions that insist they also the control of the property of the control of the control

Imagine a literature class that equates Shakespeare and the novelist Aleic Walker, not as artists but as fragments of sociology. Shakespeare is deemed to represent the outlook of a racist, sexist and classist 16th century England, while Walker allegedly embodies a better but Walker allegedly embodies a better but with oppressive 50th century. America. of the teachers reject the very ideas of rationality, logic and dialegue as torestone assumptions of learning—even when discussing science.

Where is this upside-down world? According to an increasing number of concerned academics, administrators and students, it is to be found on many U.S. college campuses. And it is expanding into elementary and secondary school

cassions.

For most of American history, the educational system has reflected and reinforced bedrock beliefs of the larger socicyt, Now a troubling number of teachers at all levels regard the bulk of American hissisted and the second state of the second second social methods and the second second second about social change—or, on mange—or, on man

This new thinking is not found everywhere, to be sure, but in many places professors contend it is becoming dominant. While American universities and colleges have always been centers for the critical examination of Western assumptions and beliefs, the examination has taken a harsh and strident turn. At times it amounts to a mirror-image reversal of basic assumptions held by the nation's majority.

To the dismay of many civil libertarians, the new turns of thought are fostering a decline in tolerance and a rise in intellectual intimidation. Says Leon Botstein, president of New York's liberal Bard College: "Nobody wants to listen to the other side. On many campuses, you really have a culture of forbidden questions."

Obfuscatory course titles and eccentric reading lists frequently are wedded to a combative political agenda or outlandis. At Duke University in North Carolina, an English-department course uses plays and films to pursue the theme that organized crime "is a metaphor for American business as usual." Another Dote defing comme a betrerosexual base in traditional commercial political control of the company of the

A University of Texas professor of American studies has constructed a course on 19th century writers to alternate between famous white men one week and obscure women the next, in part to illuminate "the prison house of gender." A woman who has been visiting professor at both the University of Hawaii and the University of



Texas describes traditional liberal arts as prone to "a fetishized respect for culture as a stagnant secular religion." Mary Louise Pratt, a Stanford professor of comparative literature, has objected to "the West's relentless imperial expansion" and its "monumentalist cultural hierarchy that is historically as well as morally distortive."

torically as well as morally distortive."

Although most students at most colleges continue to take courses bearing at
least some resemblance to what their predecessors studied, even the traditional curriculum is often read in new ways. Valerie
Babb, an assistant professor of English at

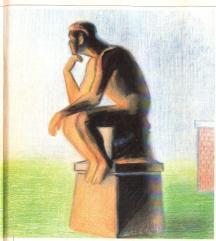
BULLETINS FROM THE P.C. FRONT

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF. A University of California administrator has sought to ban such phrases as "a chink in his armor," "a nip in the air" and "call a spade a spade" because they contain words that in other contexts have been used to express prejudice.

SAN FRANCISCO. Students who signed up for a fall-semester course in Black Politics at San Francisco State picketed it instead, and most eventually dropped out. Their complaint: it was listed in the catalog under Political Science rather than Black Studies.

AMHERST, MASS. A "straight pride" demonstration by conservative students at the University of Massachusetts in March was broken up by gay protesters. (Last year the event was billed provocatively as the "Burn a Fag in Effigi" rally.)

SANTA MONICA, CALIF. Last week the social-science department at Santa Monica College censured economics professor Eugene Buchholz for arguing ethnic- and genderbased studies "sidetrack students who could otherwise gain useful disciplines or skills."



Georgetown, is teaching a course this semester called White Male Writers. Among them: Hawthorne, Melville and Faulkner. The titler reflects one of the course's chief assertions: that just as women or black writers are studied as a class that shares a particular sensibility, so too should these white male artists be. However great their works might be, they speak merely as "one clement of the large and diversified body

of literature."
The flowering of new and at times exotic theory is in keeping with the great tradition of liberal-arts education. But many of the new critics have a hostlic view of traditional scholarship and seem to judge ideas by their "political correctness" (abbreviated as P.C.)—that is, on the basis of whom

they might offend.

The University of Delaware barred
Linda Gottfredson from accepting money
for her educational research from the controwersial Pioneer Fund because it had fimanced unrelated studies into possible hereditary differences in intelligence among
the races. The review committee judged
than by underwriting such studies, Pioneer
compatible with the university's mission,"
The University of Michigan student newspuper condemned sociologist Remolds

Farley for, as he phrases it, "lack of ideological perspective, for not directly attacking gender and ratio differences in wages." A male philosophy professor at Pomona College in California has been gridled in the property of the propert

aboos on fields of inquiry are increasingly accompanied by bans on language. According to a growing number of academic theorists, the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech can be legitimately laid aside for worthy reasons. Chief among them is if it interferes with what is billed as a new and nonconstitutional right; the right to avoid having one's feelings hurt, or what Botstein calls a "subjective interpretation of harm." Thus dozens of universities have introduced tough new codes prohibiting speech that leads to, among other things, a "demeaning atmosphere," and some of them have suspended students for using epithets toward blacks, homosexuals or other minorities, not only in classrooms but also in dormitories, in intramural sports and even off campus altogether.

"Freedom of expression is no more sacred than freedom from intolerance or bigotry," says John Jeffries, a black who is associate dean of the graduate school of management and urban policy at New York City's New School for Social Research. But on some campuses, hostility to white males is more or less condoned. The University of Wisconsin at Parkside suspended one student for addressing another as "Shaka Zulu"; yet the university's Madison campus held that the term red-neck was not discriminatory. At some schools, professors teach that white males can never be victims of racism, because racism is a form of repressive political power-and white males already hold the power in Western society.

Al Brown University, President Varian Gregorian redefined the raiest, wee-hours tirade of a drunken student as unacceptable behavior rather than as protected free speech and, having thereby finessed First Amendment concerns, expelled the offender. Although Gregorian insists he was responding to the whole set of circumstances, his explanation is widely disputed. Says Village Voice columnist Nat Hentoff, a First Amendment activits: "Gregorian is orageed, unwittingby! Suppose, in classic orageed.

Orwellian speech."

In an unlikely tactical alliance to ban such activities. Representative Henry Phyde of Illinois, a conservative Republican, this month introduced a bill with the backing of the American Civil Liberties under the American Civil Liberties of the Courage private colleges from disciplining students "soleloy on the basis of conduct that is speech or other communication." It is given a good chance of passage.

In the nation's elementary and secondary schools, the polarization is not yet so extreme. But increasingly curriculums are being written to satisfy the political demands of parents and community activists. In some cases, expediency counts for more than facts. New York State officials, for example, have responded to pressure from Native American leaders by revamping the state high school curriculum to include the shaky assertion that the U.S. Constitution was based on the political system of the Iroquois Confederacy. In Berkeley, chicana activist Martha Acevedo, who is vice chairman of the school board, has blocked adoption of new textbooks despite state approval for their multicultural approach. According to her, the books lack "positive role models." She cites the depiction of a 19th century Hispanic Robin Hood-style figure who is shown in one text on a wanted poster

Perhaps the most problematic development is the emergence in dozens of cition of "Afrocentric" curriculums. All of them legitimately seek to bolster black children's confidence in their ability to achieve and to debunk the patronizing notion that black American history and culture began with the Emancipation Proclamation. When pursued with intellectual discipline, the Afrocentric idea can be inspirational. Says Franklyn Jenifer, president of Howard University, in recalling his own education at that historically black school: "Every course I took was infused with some sense of our destiny or my personal destiny and the possibility of my achieving it."

But through zealotry or inadequate research, too many of these courses have expanded their claims far beyond the generally accepted list of black attainments. Among the most controversial assertions: that ancient Greece derived—no, stole its culture from black Africa; that black Africans invented science and mathematics; that the Egypt of the pharaohs was a black culture; and that a racist white Establishment has systematically hidden these and other black achievements. The hazard of such courses is that they may instill less pride than resentment.

Ethnic material increasingly is taught to children of all races; conventional history increasingly is not. In education-minded Brookline, Mass., where 79% of high school graduates go on to college, parents have had to fight to restore a European-history course that was canceled as Euro-centric and élitist. Meanwhile, students have been enticed into fringe electives with such sales pitches as "Have you ever wondered what goes on in the mind of a voo-doo doctor?"

Why are Western cultural and social values so out of favor in the classroom when so much of the rest of the world has moved, during the past couple of years, to embrace them? Roger Kimball, conservative author of Temured Radicals.

Academics in Opposition

The chairman of Tulane University's political science department is no academic bomb thrower. But when Paul Lewis looked closely at the "initiatives for the race and gender enrichment" of the university proposed by a faculty committee—well, he says, "I raised a stink." The plan implied a quota

tele-wear, in Subya, in Insection Systems of the Insection Systems and the appointment within all departments of "race and gender liaison persons," whom Lewis likens to political commissars. Thanks largely to the challenge he organized, Lewis is a controversial figure at Tulane, but the initiatives are now being revised. "I never now being revised, "I never beyone the subject of the property of

As a result of the fracas, Lewis is following the lead of other aroused academics and organizing a Louisiana affiliate of the 1,759-member National Association of Scholans. With headquarters in Princeton, N.J., the N.A.S. has emerged as the cutting edge of faculty opposition to the excesses of multiculturalism and the replacement of traditional curriculums with courses about

race and gender issues. One well-known N.A.S. critic, Stanley Fish, chairman of the Duke University English department, has declared that the association is widely known to be "racist, sexsist and homophoic" and argued that its members should be barred from committees dealing with tenure or curriculum. But N.A.S. president and co-founder Stephen H. Balch, 47, insists that the N.A.S. seeks only to maintain the standards of excellence that have made U.S. universities the world's entire.

N.A.S. members are manning the intellectual barricades almost everywhere these days. At the University of Texas at Austin, chapter adherents successfully challenged a proposal to focus English 306, a required freshman writing course, on problems of race and gender. They argued that the change would turn the class into a political-indoctrination course. At

the University of Wisconsin in Madison, the N.A.S. chapter has criticized a plan to hire more minority professors, contending that it would set up the academic equivalent of a patronage system. Christina Hoff Sommers, an associate professor of philosophy at Clark University, refused to sign a course-pro-

refused to sign a course-proposal form that would have required her to explain how she had incorporated "pluralistic views" into her teaching. Other faculty members, including several avowed leftists, shared her outrage that academic freedom could be infringed on by this kind of monitoring. The proposal has been dropped.

To Stephen Balch, all these incidents show that individuals can make a difference if they are prepared to speak out-and take the heat for doing so. An associate professor of political science at Manhattan's John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Balch began meeting with a small group of like-minded academics in the New York City area in 1982 to discuss academic problems. By 1987 they had evolved "from a community to an organiza-

maintain standards

time of the many standards community to an organization. The N.A.S. is funded in part by four conservative foundations, but Balch insists, "We follow our own lights." The association publishes the quarterly Academic Questions, sporsors regular most doubled in the past year and is growing at the rate of 25 applications a week. Among the roster of luminaries: Duke political scientist James David Barber, Harvard sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson and Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. The reason for such interest, says Clark's Sommers, is that liberals as well as conservatives now worry professors to tape their fectures as a safeguard against bias charges. "It's the opposite," see says, "of what a university



N.A.S. president Balch: seeking to maintain standards

6

should be."

Press

a book harshly critical of the trend. blames the coming of age of the academic generation shaped by the struggles of the '60s. Its members, he says, vowed back then to transform campuses into engines of ongoing social change; now they are in a position to impose their will. A much less conspiratorial interpretation is that American schools and colleges are dealing with a demographic change that will take another couple of decades to grip society as a whole-the shift, because of higher birth and immigration rates among nonwhite and Hispanic people, from a majority-white to a truly multiracial society. These nonwhite and Hispanic students want a curriculum that gives them more dignity. So do women and gays-and faculty from all those groups. Says the Rev. Clarence Glover Jr., who teaches a course about the sins of "the European-American male" at Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "People of color have always been a majority in the world and are now becoming a majority in America. The issue becomes, How do we begin to share power?

ourses that explore these questions are increasingly popular among students in general, but the primary audience for minority-oriented curriculums is usually the minorities themselves. Typically, they seek courses that reassure as much as instruct them. At San Francisco State College and also in that city's two-year City College, students can minor in gay and lesbian studies, with such offerings as Gay Male Relationships and Sexual Well-Being. The City College department was founded in 1989. says chairman Jack Collins, because "it will raise the self-esteem of lesbian and gay students who will realize that they are complete people, that we do have recognizable and describable cultures.

The chief risk in any ideologically based curriculum is that it can promote tribalism and downplay the value of discovering common cultural ground. The very idea of the melting pot, of assimilation, indeed of a common American identity, is under fire in some academic circles. Warns Diane Ravitch, adjunct professor of history and education at Columbia; "If we teach kids to connect themselves to one group defined by race or language or religion, then we have no basis for public education. We need to retain a sense of the common

Colleges are as subject to fad and fashion as the rest of society-perhaps more, for the client base of students turns over quickly. But few scholars believe the current intellectual battles will end soon-particularly as the confrontation permeates other levels of education. In the process, the American tradition of tolerance in diversity an uneven tradition at best, may be strained as rarely before. - Reported by Anne Hopkins and Daniel S. Levy/New York, with other bureaus

A Fresh Take on Fashion

Mirabella woos readers with an eclectic menu of offerings that mixes culture and business with women's other concerns

With seven American fashion maga-zines already telling millions of women what to wear, it was hard to imagine that the fledgling Mirabella might come up a winner. But the adult, upscale answer to today's youth-oriented competition has found a rich niche since its launch in June 1989. Baby boomers hungry for an intelligent magazine of fashion combined with informed life-style features are finding Mirabella surprisingly to their taste.

of Paris, Milan and New York, and tracks

The magazine's eponymous director In place of breathless beauty tips, fun,

The buzz among fashion insiders is that Mirabella is beginning to make Vogue and Elle look old hat. "Mirabella is the magazine fashion women are talking about, says Lenore Benson, president of the Fashion Group International, a New York City-based trade association, "Today women want to see more than just pages of clothes," Advertisers have also taken notice of the magazine, which now reaches 400,000 readers. Mirabella's ad revenues shot up 44% during the last six months of 1990, to \$10.6 million.

Casting aside the signature skinnies and grinnies that characterize the glossy pages of Elle and Vogue, Mirabella in its fashion pages features lesser-known models with figures of more realistic proportions. Instead of highlighting fantasy fashions, it appeals to the 30-to-40-year-old woman by showcasing practical, often affordable clothes. Mirabella's greatest departure, however, is its eclectic menu of offerings. Fully half the pages are devoted to business, culture and beauty features. A monthly news section dissects the good, the bad and the baffling from the runways

> the latest in fabrics, furniture and architecture. In place of breathless beauty tips, Mirabella may poke fun at questionable treatments.

The magazine's guiding spirit is Grace Mirabella, who has spent 40 of her 61 years in the fashion world. Toward the end of the 17 years she spent building Vogue into a powerhouse, Mirabella harbored a vision. "I felt it was time to reposition the fashion magazine from a book of endless pages of clothes to a style magazine that readers would pick up and stay with for a few hours.' she recalls. When she was fired in 1988 by S.I. Newhouse, who wanted a younger look for Vogue, media buccaneer Rupert Murdoch came forward with a proposal that Mirabella found irresistible

Backed by Murdoch's dollars, Mirabella hired two former Vogue colleagues-her creative director, Jade Hobson Charnin, and features editor, Amy Gross-to develop a voice that would speak to mature, contemporary women. Hypersensitive to comparisons with Lear's, she feels her feature offerings can compete with Vanity

Fair's and the New Yorker's. The latter is still a stretch, although recent contributors-including Francine du Plessix Gray and Roy Blount-have toughened Mirabella's edge.

Barring a deep recession, Mirabella is expected to break even within the next year. Murdoch's News Corp., which is laboring under an \$8,4 billion debt, indicated in March that it would be willing to entertain bids for some of its magazine properties-Mirabella included. The news has caused little disturbance at Mirabella. "It would have no effect on my business or my people," says Julie Lewit-Nirenberg, the magazine's publisher. "I'm very sanguine." - By Mary Cronin/ New York





EXCEPT for the RAW OCTOPUS I really loved NAGOYA.

ANNA CARTER

NEWBERRY, SOUTH CAROLINA, is a long way from Nagoya, Japan. But last summer as a guest of the Watanabe family, Anna Carter found the two places were a lot closer than she imagined. "I had an incredible time;" she says.

Her Japanese hosts spoke English and were as kind as could be. They sometimes even prepared American style meals just so she wouldn't get homesick. But after all, the main idea behind the "Summer in Japan" program is to give young people a chance to experience other cultures.

To live the way other people live, strange customs and all.

Japanese meals can be an adventure for anybody. How did they go down with Anna? Tempura was nice. And teriyaki's tasty. But as for raw fish, especially sea urchins and octopus, well, the less said the better. "Sometimes I'd have given anything for a slice of pizza," she laughs.

There were so many fascinating things about the people and the places she visited, though, that she is eager to go back.

"For someone who'd never been outside the U.S., it has really opened my eyes. I made lots of friends, and I'd love to see them again."

Toyota wholeheartedly supports the "Summer in Japan" scholarship program.

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Show Business

Hollywood Dances with Words

Books are coming off the shelves and onto the screen. Are producers seeking more complexity, or just tidy packages?

By RICHARD CORLISS

we can make book on it. Hollywood is back in low with novels. After a decade or so when movie moguls thought that liferage was hazardous to their fiscal health, theaters are burgeoning with films based on books. Best-selling books. Misory, The Bonfire of the Vanities, Presumed Innocent, The Hanti for Red Ordore. Cult faces: The Griffers, The Sheltering SSy, Mr. Bridge and Mrs. Bridge, Nordischio too bilde Goy Decome sizele at the box office; some firzle. But when the vest-first free runnway

But when the year's inst two runawish, this, The Silence of the Lambs and Sleeping with the Enemy, are close adaptations of novels, movie people notice. And when Dances with Wolves blossoms from the project no studio would touch into this week's Oscar darling, every unsung novelist must feel like cheering.

A book needn't have a critical pedigree; it needn't even have been conceived as a novel. Four years ago, writer Michael Blake had sired a bunch of orphan scripts and one Hollwood order Sun'y Scriptin (1981), starcredit, Sun'y Scriptin (1981), starface; sun't sun't sun't sun't sun't sun't dieac : cavalyman goes to new fort, finds no one there. Wouldn't that make a good screenplay? "Don't write a screenplay," Costner said, pointing to a pile of scripts on his loving-room floor. "It'll just end up in loving-room floor. "It'll just end up in book called Dance with Works.

As long as the cinema has told stories, it has plundered from print. More than half the movies that have won an Oscar for Best Picture have been based on novels or biographies. But the '70s saw the dominance of popular original scripts (Rocky, Star Wars, The Deer Hunter). and producers figured that the nuances of literature would be lost on their newly powerful teen audience. For a while, most best sellers went unfilmed, unless they were written by Stephen King, or else they surfaced as TV mini-series. That's all changed; Hollywood is again courting authors with six-figure options and seven-figure sales.

The trend may be encouraging, a hint that Hollywood movies demand more complex characters, not just more elaborate special effects. Or it may be further evidence of the industry's creeping conservatism. Studio bosses haven't become more literate. They are simply playing it safe, luring an aging movie audience with properties that have already proved their appeal. Why pay as much as \$3 million for an original script, then pay somenated to the properties of the properties of the payment of the properties.

"A book is now part of a package," says



The teaming of pure good and delicious evil made this tactful adaptation a big hit.
Box office to date: \$70 million.



can't do landscape. The West never looked so dreamy, nor the liberal white man so noble. B.O.: \$1.30 million.



The book was a feminist thriller; the movie, just Julia Roberts and a psycho in an old dark house. B.O.: \$70 million.



Wolfe wanted Chevy Chase to star, but everyone knew Tom Hanks wasn't the real McCoy. B.O.: \$15 million.

Peter Gethers, the publisher of Villard Books as well as anovelst and screenwriter, "It gives producers and studio people something to hold in their hands, instead of just pitching an intangheigh idea to a diplet pitching and intangheigh idea to a diplet pitching and intangheigh idea to a diplet just of just pitching and intangheigh idea to a diplet just on intangheigh idea to a diplet just only in the pitching in the pitching

Buying a book also allows the studio to sidestep all that messy artistic independence; the writer and the director have a blueprint they'd better stick to. "Studios don't like to take chances with something that hasn't been validated in another com-

thasn't been validated in another commercial form, says screenwritergirector Paul Schrader, whose sleek, scre new movie, The Complor of Series and the Series of the Complor of Pinter from Ian McEiswan's novel. "A film like Silnere of the Lumbis would have never hit the screen had it been original material. It's just to raw. It could be filmed only because it had been a best-seling book. If you're inbeen a best-seling book. If you're insense that the audience is going to like what you're investing in."

The trick is to convince the people who liked what they read that they like what they see. Readers are a possessive lot; they have, in effect, already made their own imaginary film version of the book-cast it, dressed the sets, directed the camera. They resent cuts and changes. The Bonfire of the Vanities would probably have flopped even if it weren't a lame movie, because Tom Wolfe had already created a great movie in the minds of his readers. Most of the popular novels that have become popular films (Red October, Presumed, Misery, Silence) are thrillers with strong, straight plot lines. Here, directors are less adapters than illustrators; their job is to shoot things by the book

There's a catch, though. Hollywood, like the characters it puts on the screen, wants to be loved at the final fade-out. So Bonfire ends in a brotherhood-of-man speech instead of a race riot. The evil nurse in Misery doesn't chop her captive's foot off with an ax; she breaks it with a mallet. The heroine in Sleeping with the Enemy doesn't bravely confront her husband on her own terms; she cringes like a silentfilm maiden tied to the railroad tracks. Plus ca change. Movies, even if they have literary beginnings, still need Hollywood endings. - Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/New York



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Video

Revenge of the Nerd

Neighborhood pest Steve Urkel makes Family Matters fly and gives the Miller-Boyett team yet another comedy hit

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

or unprepared viewers, the first exposure to Steve Urkel is apt to come as a shock. With oversize glasses, pants hiked up to his armpits, piercing nasal voice and snorting laugh, he's the nerd who came to dinner. When he isn't rattling off irrelevant factoids ("Did you know there are 99.3 million cows in the U.S.?")

ion cows in the U.S.?") or speaking lapanese with the high school principal, the is making a general pest of himself with the is especially smitten with the its especially smitten with their 15-year-old daughter Laura, whom he showers with pet names ("Hi, my little Jell-O mold") to no avail. One night he even shows up outside her bedroom window to woo her with an accordion serenade of Feeling and the Service of the service

Only in the world of TV sitcoms could Urkel become a sensation.

Make that only in the world of Tom Miller and Bob Boyett. As executive producers of Family Matters, the ABC series Urkel

calls home, and a string of other sitcom hits, they have mastered the art of low-IQ, high-Nielsen TV comedy, At ABC, they are the kings of Friday night: for much of the season, they have monopolized the evening with four shows running back to back.

Now in its second season, Family Matters, which centers on a black policeman and his Chicago family, has been moving steadily up the Nielsen chart, often cracking the Top 10. There it usually joins Miller-Bowetts reigning champ, the fouryear-old Fall House, in which three unattached males cope with a houseful of little girls. Not far behind is Perfect Strangers, a buddy comedy with Bronson Pinchot as an immigrant weirdo who comes to liew with his cousin (Mark Linn-Baker) in the U.S.

The team's newest Friday-night offering, Going Places (four perky twentysomethings working on a TV show and sharing a house), ended its season's run earlier this month. But their cas sitcom Family Man, about a fire fighter raising four kids, will return from hiatus later in the spring. And the duo is gearing up yet another family comedy for Abe. in the fall, this one about two

single-parent clans that move in together. Clearly, we are not in thin Peaks territory. Miller-Boyett's shows are what used to be described as lowest-common-denominator programming; cuddly, heart-warming undemanding. They usually focus on wholesome families with incurably cute tots and problems that are solved in a few swift strokes just before the closing few swift strokes just before the closing



Eager beaver: White spars with co-star Reginald VelJohnson
No joke too broad, no character too outlandish.

credits. Their interchangeable theme songs reinforce the upbeat message. "Standin' tall on the wings of my dream," goes the ditty for Perfect Strangers, while Going Pleaces celebrates the "wide open spaces for my dreams," and Family Matters opens jauntily: "All I see is a tower of dreams! Real love bursting out of every seam."

In the Miller-Boyett comedy sylebook, on joke is too broad, no character too out-landsh, no plot twist too cloying. When a four-year-old in Fall House is told she can be a batboy on the Little League team, you can bet she'll come downstairs wearing a Batman costume (and get a lay laugh for if, or the morning of his welding day, one of the three dads sneaks off to go skydwing the control of the

The masterminds behind these syrupy confections bristle at the critical drubbing their shows usually get. Miller, 46, a Milwaukee native, started out as an assistant to director Billy Wilder, then wrote episodes for *The Odd Couple* and *The Bra*-







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"IT SHOULD ALL BEGIN WITH A SONG"

Japanese Educator Says Practically Every Child Can Be a Wizard in Math

Iternately serene and impassioned, he looks, in the words of a foreign caller, "like a Japanese Gandhi." But Japan's Toru Kumon, a mathematician by training, is no political activist. Yet, like Gandhi, Kumon is devoted to one very special cause: letting the world know that practically every child can become a wizard in math and just about any other subject. Millions of parents support his mission. Consider these numbers. In Japan itself no less than 1.64 million preschool and grade school youngsters are taking Kumon courses. In 19 countries outside Japan. ranging from the U.S. to Taiwan, 150,000 more students are following suit. And the numbers are still climbing.

What does he do and how does he do it? In a recent interview at the Kumon Institute of Education headquarters in Osaka, Japan, Kumon presented some absorbing details of his crusade. Some of the questions posed and his replies follow.

the questions posed and his replies follow. Question: What are your fundamental views on education?

Answer: A tough question. Let me say this. Ever since the days of France's Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the mainstream of thought has run counter to my belief: the living environment makes the child.

Yes, children are born endowed with gifts that surpass all imagination. Even so, it's altogether up to adults to help them endlessly develop their inborn, and very often hidden, wealth of mental potentials. My Institute is dedicated to doing just that.

Q: Please share with us some of your most remarkable results.

A: Another difficult query. I truly hate to sound boastful. But I will cite some of the findings from a survey conducted in the 1989 academic year among the Kumon students. Of the preschoolers (aged six or less) in our program, 567 were bright enough to solve equations. Similarly, 4,170 of the preschoolers and primary school children (from the first to sixth grade) were found doing higher mathematics of the level taught only in senior high schools. I give you these figures for the simple reason that in math the performance scores could be more clear-cut than elsewhere in the school curriculum.

Q: Why and how did you devise your method in the first place?

A: For the excellent reason that my eldest son Takeshi happened to be no good at math. That was back in 1954 when I was a high school math teacher here in Osaka and Takeshi a second-grader. I began drafting math work sheets for



Educator Toru Kumo

him to do on the pages of my loose-leaf notebook.

The result left me dumbfounded. Before long Takeshi began doing well at math. In fact, my wife Tei was stunned at math. In fact, my wife Tei was stunned to math. Indeed the service of th

Q: What, in a nutshell, is your method?

As We offer a set of carefully sequenced or graduated work sheets containing math problems. The students must attain a required level of competence in completing each of them within a prescribed inter span, or within what we call the must in our method. Not the matter of whether or not the students score 100 percent. Only when the students have tatained that crucial level of proficiency are they given the go-ahead to move on to the next, slightly more difficult.

There is nothing complex about our basic concept. The way to make fast and sure headway in math is to proceed to the next level of difficulty only when you have completely grasped the previous one.

Some 3,800 work sheets take our students from simple arithmetic through differential and integral calculus.

Q: You say 3,800 work sheets?

A: No less. But don't misunderstand me.
In practice it gives hardly any hardship
to the children. The number of work

sheets might seem formidable. That is because our method is dedicated to making it a succession of small steps for advancement in order to alleviate

for advancement in order to alleviate the burden on the students. First, all of the students have to undergo a diagnostic test given by our instructors to determine where they should begin. For preschoolers, that point of takeoff might even be the chore of learning to draw a more or less straight

It's the same story all over again with the kickoff for math. The students first learn to add one—and always one—to two long rows of figures. The next step is to add two—and always two—to another two rows of figures. And so it igoes. Only when the students have maply mastered the assignment of the first work sheet can they graduate from that stage and advance to the second.

line on the work sheet with a pencil

Tedious and monotonous and repetitive this method might seem. But this in fact is a key to our method. So often elementary math amounts to a replication of cause their teachers would think hostciause their teachers would think hosting of leaping all at once from the first or second stage to the task of addition to second stage to the task of addition. The time of the second of the second of the second time of the second of the second of the second time of the second of the second of the second children for it could be at once bewildering and baffling to some of them.

Ours is an almost completely painless formula all the way.

Q: And why do you have to do each work sheet within a prescribed time?

A: Some people persist in saying that accuracy is everything. I disagree because they disregard altogether the vital matter of just how much time a student takes in doing a work sheet. You see, a student's ability to finish one work sheet well within a set time span underlines one very serious fact: the child's degree of understanding is complete for that particular phase. The amount of time a child takes in doing a work sheet in itself tells a great deal.

The longer the time span, the lower the degree of understanding. To be more specific, to exceed the Standard Completion Time is to indicate a difficulty with which the child is confronted in the current stage. Our view is that then the child should review and repeat the work sheet at hand in order to climb in the level of understanding. This helps create an ideal mental climate for advancement. That is why I place an emphasis on cruising speed. The students must complete each work sheet with ease

I developed my prescribed time program about a decade and a half ago. But I must admit that I have since been fine-tuning it constantly because I find myself ceaselessly modifying the details of our method. The framework of our method is done. But its details are in an unending process of being revised.

Q: What is the breakdown of your Japanese students?

A: Of these 1.64 million Kumon students, 868,000 are taking our math course, 203,000 our English course and most of the rest our Japanese language

Q: Kumon English and Japanese lanquage courses?

A: Yes. We now offer German and French

courses as well.

Q: Why? A: Through many years, I have made it a rule to swap notes with our instructors as frequently as possible. At these sessions I often found myself confronted with a striking fact; those bright preschoolers nearly always excel in the ability to read a great deal. What's about as impressive was something else: they read those books long considered beyond their mental reach. Soon I realized that to master reading is to accelerate the speed of advancing in math studies. This realization led to the launching of our Japanese and English language courses.

Q: When did your method first go overseas?

A: That was in 1974 when we opened a Kumon center in New York. Our method has since been introduced to 18 other countries: Canada, Australia Brazil, Peru, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Africa, Britain, Germany, France Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and Italy

Q: What else are you doing outside Japan?

A: Many things. For instance, last September we opened Kumon Leysin Academy of Switzerland on a dazzling mountainside an hour and a half by car from Geneva. About 100 students, selected from around Japan, are enrolled in it. My aim is to see each of these students become a solid internationalist.

Q: How is the Kumon method accepted in the U.S.?

A: There is one major difference between Japan and the U.S. In Japan we are particularly active in teaching at our after-school centers. But in the U.S. the trend is for grade schools to adopt our method for regular classroom use.

At the outset of this school year, there were 238 schools utilizing our method for a total of 22,500 students.

Among the first schools to take up our method is Sumiton Elementary School near Birmingham, Alabama, A large number of American math teachers would know much about Sumiton. I myself visited it two years ago. What I saw was exactly what had been reported in a number of publications, including Time, Newsweek and The Wall Street Journal.

Once the Sumiton students begin to hunch over their Kumon math work sheets, the classroom oddly turns quiet. Clearly this reflects the students' keen interest in what they're doing. The school's principal, Ilene Black, told me that the students loved it as much as their parents. She noted a change in the students' attitude. And that, to me, is a telltale manifestation of the children's growing self-confidence. Q: Self-confidence?

A: For a long time indeed I have known one thing for sure about children. The higher the level of their academic attainment, the more elevated the de-



Kumon with foreigners learning Japanese language

. Please contact the negrest Kumon office or the head office in Japan for more information concerning the Kumon method.

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Kumon with his students

gree of their willingness to studyand their self-confidence. To inculcate self-confidence, some reform schools in Japan have been successfully taking advantage of our method. By the same token, there are more than 2,000 handicapped children going through our math and language courses. Equally gratifying to me is another development: a well-established firm in the U.S. last year set an industrial precedent for us by introducing our method for some of its assembly-line people. Evidently that is one way of enhancing productivity, a revelation to me.

Q: You have time and again said that to expand the scope of our children's mental ability is far more important than breaking our swimming or marathon records. What would you say is the most effective way of heightening their mental ability at the earliest possible stage? A: In reply I should point to the magic of singing songs. In the presence of infants, their parents and other adults should sing songs whenever and wherever possible. That would create an atmosphere where infants will find it happy to follow suit.

Lately I have come to believe firmly that the finest start for infants is for them to sing songs as often as reasonably possible. While singing a song, they just naturally end up memorizing every word in it. This helps to enrich their vocabulary and in turn to elevate their powers of understanding. The outcome is that the infants register an astounding speed in learning math and languages.

Q: You mean to say that it all should begin with a song? A: Yes.

- Contributed by Pan Pacific Associates

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Video

dy Bunch. Boyett, also 46, grew up in Atlanta, moved to New York City to become a playwright and wound up as a program executive at ABC. They met when Miller was co-producing one of ABC's big hits of the '70s, Happy Days. Boyett later joined Miller (and his then partner Edward Milkis) to produce such shows as Laverne & Shirley, Mork & Mindy and Bosom Buddies. "What we really care about is pleasing people," says Miller. "If



that's what we're charged with, the verdict is guilty.

Their shows don't always please enough people: the pair have had flops (Goodtime Girls, Joanie Loves Chachi) as well as hits. But they have gained a reputation in TV circles as expert fix-it men, skilled at tinkering with shows and playing up the elements that work. Their legendary success was boosting the role of Fonzie, the greaser with a heart of gold, in Happy Days. Basically, the concept of a show is merely a vehicle to get it launched," says Boyett. "What keeps it going is the ability to present characters people want to follow.

Improbably, Urkel has become one. The goony neighbor kid, played by 14year-old Jaleel White, did not make his first appearance on Family Matters until its 12th episode. The producers saw his appeal instantly, and now Urkel is the centerpiece of virtually every show. "I think people like him because he's unique," says White, who gets so much fan mail that his family had to hire a firm to open it.

With his deft timing and vaudeville hamminess, White brings such extravagant high spirits to the role that he is hard not to like. Moreover, his presence has helped turn Family Matters into Miller-Boyett's most watchable comedy. His constant grating presence-the eager beaver who sets everybody's teeth on edge-has added a dash of vinegar to the cotton-candy formula. Maybe every TV family needs a nerd in the neighborhood. -With reporting by

Sally B. Donnelly/Los Angeles



The controversial new opera, based on the hijacking of the Achille Lauro, is a stylized, subtle, Rashomon-like retelling of the tragedy

Music

Art and Terror in the Same Boat

The Death of Klinghoffer avoids politics but takes no prisoners

By MICHAEL WALSH BRUSSELS

ew operas in history have been as instantly controversial as The Death of Klinghoffer. To begin with, the subject matter is politically incendiary: the brutal 1985 murder of a wheelchair-using American Jew by Palestinian terrorists aboard the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro, Further, the opera is the second collaboration by composer John Adams, librettist Alice Goodman, choreographer Mark Morris and director Peter Sellars-the people behind Nixon in China. That dazzling 1987 opera left a trail of argument in its wake as it made its way across America and Europe, Surely, Klinghoffer would be even more provocative than its predecessor. Wouldn't it's

The Belgians thought so. During the gulf crisis, some of them urged that the opera's world premiere in Brussels be postponed, out of fear that it might incite real terrorism. When the opera had its world premiere last week at the Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie, security was tight. But surprise: Klinghoffer is not that kind of provocateur. Just as the lyrical and deeply humanistic Nixon confounded many who had expected a leftist demonization of the old unindicted co-conspirator, so has this sweet. sorrowful Klinghoffer upended everyone's expectations.

For one thing, it's no Nixon. That work contained big, powerful set pieces: the Nixons' arrival in Peking aboard the Spirit of '76; the spellbinding banquet scene; a hallucinatory ballet; a tender aria for Pat and a hair raiser for Madame Mao. Instead, the

new work takes its cue from Nixon's third act, a contemplative series of interlocking monologues that stripped the statesmen of their blue suits and Mao jackets and revealed them for the tired, nervous and scared human beings they were.

Accordingly, Klinghoffer is no docudrama but rather a stylized, subtle, Rashomon-like retelling of the tragedy. It takes no prisoners, and takes no sides either. On Sellars' voyage, confusion is captain, and perspectives shift like ocean waves. Along with Leon Klinghoffer, truth becomes a casualty. The director has clad the entire cast in anonymous street clothes, and many roles are doubled-now friend, now foeand who can tell the difference?

"On the 'politically correct' scale, we don't even register," comments Sellars gleefully. "People come expecting machine-gun fire and bodies being thrown overboard, and what they get is a bunch of art." Complementing Sellars' vision is Morris' integrated choreography: a silent shadow subtext that swells emotionally as the opera progresses until it hijacks the action, transforming and finally transfiguring it.

n his most flexible score to date, Adams has erected huge choral pillars to frame the action and provide context. In between, he spins out long, shimmering arias whose sinuous lines deny the listener the security of a conventional verse. chorus-verse structure. Once a card carrying minimalist, the composer now weds a sturdy rhythmic pulse with a freer melodic and harmonic idiom that can evoke with equal aplomb a Monteverdi arioso. a Mendelssohn scherzo or Duke of Earl.

Goodman, the Cambridge-based poet, writes vigorous, stark verse whose impact is almost physical. "My father's house was razed/ In nineteen forty-eight/ When the Israelis passed/ Over our street" are the first words of the opera, sung by a chorus of exiled Palestinians; later the Israelis get equal time. Goodman combines flights of fancy with earthy images and expressions-this must be the first operatic libretto in history to employ the word asshole and the Yiddish meshugaas. Yet, as in Marilyn Klinghoffer's homey pietà, Goodman can soar. "I have only a short time," the widow sings after learning of her husband's death. "What can part us while I live? I grieve as a pregnant woman grieves for the unseen long-imagined son.

Expertly conducted by Kent Nagano, the cast included such Nixon veteransand Sellars favorites-as Sanford Sylvan as Klinghoffer, James Maddalena as the ship's captain and Stephanie Friedman as one of the terrorists.

Some flaws: the comic prologue seems superfluous, sandwiched as it is between the potent Palestinian and Israeli choruses. Singing in English, the Belgian chorus was unintelligible; Goodman's dense text demands supertitles. And one does miss some of Nixon's stirring climaxes. But none of this should impede Klinghoffer's success. Already the opera has been scheduled by its other co-producers-the opera companies of Lyon; Glyndebourne, England; San Francisco; and Los Angeles-as well as the Brooklyn Academy of Music, where it opens in September. This broad international debut will serve to confirm Adams. Goodman, Morris and Sellars as the foremost creative team working today on the operatic stage, and perhaps on any stage.

Sport

Bo Knows Pain—and Dismissal

The best-known two-sport athlete in the U.S. is out for a year, and perhaps forever, because of a football injury

By DAVID E. THIGPEN

He always said he would make his choice when the time was right. But his prodigious athletic gifts and the rewards they brought made choosing between pro football and pro baseball difficult for Bo Jackson, 28. For four remark-

baseball in the football season," he said, It will be an expensive hiatus. By letting Jackson go before March 20, the Royals were obligated to pay only \$395,000 of his one-year, \$2.3 million contract. His \$1.6 million salary for the Raiders this year is not immediately at risk, but it will be if the effects of the injury persist. And a foreRoyals general manager Herk Robinson said the team considered keeping Jackson on the disabled list, but that would have tied up more than \$2 million with very little hope of a positive return on the investment this season.

Royals management had made no secret of its displeasure with the physical risks Jackson took moonlighting as a backfield star. Says Royals owner Ewing Kauffman: "It definitely was not best in the long run for Bo to play football. It destroyed potentially the best talent ever to put on a baseball uniform." Several major-league managers said they would never take a two-sport athlete, even one of Jackson's

caliber, because of the risks of iniury. New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner last week loudly announced that he wanted Jackson on his squad, but Steinbrenner is no longer allowed to speak for the team, and Yankees general manager Gene Michael said the "risk is just too great" to hire Jackson. At week's end, when no team had claimed him, Jackson became a

free agent.

Bo's departure is the spectators' loss. In an era when less talented ballplayers pull down equally towering salaries and occasionally indulge in public temper tantrums, Jackson's grace and zeal on the playing field brought fans out in admiring droves. "When I'm playing, I'm relaxed," Jackson once said. "I'm like a fish in water." Fellow Royals star George Brett noted that fans fell out of the hot doe

lines and hurried back to their seats when Jackson stepped to the plate. They were frequently gratified. In July 1988, he hit a blast off Boston's Oil Can Boyd that many said was the longest home run ever hit in Fenway Park, Last year Jackson hit a middling .272 and, despite missing 51 games, still led the Royals with 28 homers and 78

runs batted in. One veteran American League team physician remarked that Jackson's stocky. heavily muscled physique was the only one that had made him gawk. But other players are bigger, stronger or faster, making the two-sport athlete a rare and endangered species. The only other active two-sport pro, Atlanta Falcons defensive back Deion Sanders, was dropped by the Yankees last season after several trips to the minors. but he has since been picked up by the Braves as an outfielder. There is an old sports dictum that Jackson should perhaps have studied with greater care: baseball pays more, and you get hit

St. Louis and Jeanne McDowell/Los Angeles

-With reporting by Staci D. Kramer/

Bo Jackson's dislocated-hip injury has 3 elements, the first of which has probably healed. Small fracture on the rear wall of the hip socket 2 Damage to the cartilage lining the ball and socket 3 Damage to arteries, cutting off blood supply, killing bone

tissue in the head of the femur



able seasons he didn't have to: in winter he was a devastating running back for the Los Angeles Raiders, and in summer a powerhitting outfielder for the Kansas City Royals. Last season he became the first player ever selected for both the All-Star game and the Pro Bowl. But last week. when the Royals suddenly dropped him because of a serious injury to his hip in a football game two months earlier, the incredible career of the two-sport superstar seemed in grave jeopardy, and quite possibly at a premature end.

"Don't count me out," Jackson said at a press conference last week in Haines City, Fla., where the Royals were in spring training. But also don't count on him for at least a year. While physicians disagreed on whether he could ever recover from his injury, most agreed that he would be out of baseball and football for that long, if not longer, and that if he returned, he most probably would not regain peak form. In general, Jackson stayed mum about his plans. "I don't talk about football in the baseball season, and I don't talk about shortened sports career may truncate his higher-paying second job as the endorser of Diet Pepsi, AT&T and various sports medicines-plus his starring role in Nike's "Bo Knows . . ." commercials. All that offthe-field effort brings in about \$5 million a

Jackson's injury occurred during the A.F.C. semifinal play-off game between Los Angeles and Cincinnati when he twisted his leg trying to escape the tackle of a linebacker. After he was helped from the field, the injury was diagnosed as a left-hip fracture-dislocation. When another exam two weeks ago showed that Jackson's hip cartilage had deteriorated further, the Royals' team doctor pronounced the prognosis for Jackson's return "uncertain.

As shocking as Jackson's release was, it made sense-and dollars-for the Royals. Because Jackson's injury occurred on the gridiron, the Royals have a contractual right to release him. If the damage had occurred on a baseball diamond, the Royals would have had to pay his full salary.



was fairly easy to close the office down and run all the cli-

ents away," says Grisham, 36. The switch freed him to cash in on the public's hunger for law-related fare. Paramount paid Grisham \$600,000 for the book's movie rights even before he had a publishing deal.

By SOPHFRONIA SCOTT/Reported by Andrea Sachs Hello Dalai!

Declaring the International Year of Tibet, the Dalai Lama is off on a multicountry journey that brings him to the U.S. this week. Promoting Tibetan culture and calling attention to China's occupation of his country, the Tibetan leader-in-exile will talk about Buddhism to an expected crowd of 10,000 at Cornell University and meet with members of Congress in Washington. He'll also go to San Francisco, where he'll see his friend, Buddhist actor Richard Gere, whose Tibet House group organized the activities. The trip, Gere says, will "highlight the plight of



have endured an extremely brutal occupation.

A Cash Cow for Sony?

"If anybody could exhibit the potential of being the greatest selling superstar of all time, Michael Jackson can." You better believe it; Japan's Sony Software is betting it'll make a cool \$1 billion that it's so. Those words of praise came from Sony Music president Tommy Mottola last week as Sony and the Gloved One signed perhaps the biggest show-biz deal ever. Anxious to stockpile entertainment software for its growing

audio-video empire (Sony Music, Columbia Pictures), Sony sought and got a longterm multimedia contract with Jackson that includes film and music projects. Sony figures that since his albums Thriller and Bad made about \$700 million in retail sales alone, the new deal should have billion-dollar potential. Insiders gasped at the gamble, but it squelched rumors that Jackson was looking to sign on elsewhere.

Cashing In

When the high-rolling DONALD and IVANA TRUMP decided to split last year, she wanted to shoot for the jackpot: half of his supposed \$500 million fortune. But since then "the Donald's" financial dealings have soured. and Ivana realized she had better take what she could while there was something



no small stack of chips to take away from the table.

he gets a name of his

Law Scribe

So how many times will au-

thor John Grisham be com-

pared to Scott Turow before

own? Maybe not too many, now that his second novel, The Firm, about a hot young lawyer ensnared by a law firm with Mafia ties, is zooming up the bestseller lists. The Mis-

Street Wise

"Not to put Pretty Woman down, but it was a caramelized view of prostitution," says actress THERESA RUSSELL, 33. She'll present the gritty side in her fall film, Whore, which explores the depths of the world's oldest profession. The whore Russell portrays is Liz, a character made up from the stories of real-life hookers. She considered the role so brutally honest that at first she was afraid to take it. "It depicts the most horrid existence," she says. Her experience reinforced Russell's belief that prostitution should be legalized. "To pretend it doesn't exist



TIME, APRIL 1, 1991

is crazy."

Lance Morrow

A Moment for the Dead

he Pentagon ordered 16,099 body bags to be shipped to the Persian Gulf to bring home dead Americans. In the end, 15,773 of the bags were not necessary.

The Iraqi army would have needed-what? One hundred thousand body bags? More? No one knows or will ever know. No one has counted the Iraqi corpses, Many of them were burjed in the sand, without ceremony; some have been taken care of by vultures.

That so few soldiers in the coalition died somehow seemed to Americans a vindication. It was even a return of their shining self, of Buffalo Bill, who (e.e. cummings wrote) could "ride a watersmooth-silver stallion and break onetwothreefourfive pigeonsjustlikethat." The unspoken text was this: the nation had recovered its immunity, its divine favor, or anyway its gift for doing things right. The victory was as satisfying as anything Americans have done together

since landing on the moon Would it be seemly to have a moment of silence for the Iraqi

corpses? It is not inconsequential to kill 100,000 people. That much life suddenly and violently extinguished must leave a ragged hole somewhere in the universe. One looks for special effects of a metaphysical kind to attend so much death-the whoosh of all those souls departing. But many of them died ingloriously, like road kill, full of their disgrace, facedown with the loot scattered around them. The conquered often die ignominiously. The victors have not given them much thought.

Still, killing 100,000 people is a serious thing to do. It is not equivalent to shooting a rabid dog, which is, down deep, what Americans feel the war was all about, exterminat-

ing a beast with rabies. All those 100,000 men were not megalomaniacs, torturers and murderers. They did not all commit atrocities in Kuwait. They were ordinary people: peasants, truck drivers, students and so on. They had the love of their families, the dignity of their lives and work. They cared as little for politics, or less, than most people in the world. They were, precisely, not Saddam Hussein. Which means, since Saddam was the coalition's one true target in all of this, that those 100,000 corpses are, so to speak, collateral damage. The famous smart bombs did not find the one man they were seeking. The secret of much murder and evildoing is to dehumanize

the victim, to make him alien, to make him Other, a different species. When we have done that, we have prepared ourselves to kill him, for to kill the Other, to kill a snake, a roach, a pest, a Jew, a scorpion, a black, a centipede, a Palestinian, a hyena, an Iraqi, a wild dog, an Israeli . . . it's O.K. If Saddam Hussein was a poisonous snake in the desert. and he had 1 million poisonous snakes arrayed around him.

then it was good sense to drop bombs and kill 100,000 snakes and thus turn back the snake menace.

But, of course, the 100,000 Iraqis were not snakes. To kill 100,000 people and to feel no pain at having done so may be dangerous to those who did the killing. It hints at an impaired humanity, a defect like a gate through which other deaths may enter, deaths no one had counted on. The unquiet dead have many ways of haunting-particularly in the Middle East, which has been accumulating the grievances of the dead for thousands of years.

In any case, there is not, or there should not be, such a thing as killing without guilt-especially not mass killings without guilt. When people kill without remorse, we call them insane. We call them maniacs, serial murderers.

Americans almost unconsciously regard the victory as a kind of moral cleansing: the right thing. But reality and horror have not been rescinded. All killing is unclean. It has upon it a stain that technology cannot annul or override. Americans are not omnipotent, not all virtuous, they should remind them-

selves, they do not bestride the world. Vainglory is one of the sillier postures: it invariably precedes the rude awakening. It is the sort of whooping glee that, in Daffy Duck cartoons, goeth before the fall.

Did the dead Iragis need to be killed?

In the circumstances, yes.

Having killed them, how do the victors feel?

They feel great.

In Texas lore, there is a defense for murder that goes like this: "He needed killing." Is there anything wrong with feeling great about killing 100,000 Iraqis who needed killing?

There is nothing wrong with feeling relieved. It is not required, it is not human nature, to mourn the soldiers who were arrayed to kill you. Killing the Iraqis meant that Americans and their partners did

not have to face them on the battlefield and maybe die. As it was, the Iraqis who were left in the field surrendered almost without a fight.

Like some martial equivalent of the Reagan years, the victory in the gulf makes Americans feel better about themselves. It was splendid and necessary but also unreal-an action-adventure that, like most movies, was divided into three chapters, with decisive turning points: 1) the Iraqi invasion and the buildup of coalition forces; 2) the onset of the air war; and 3) the ground war and its denouement. The victory came with such merciless ease that on the winners' side, the deeper levels of experience (nobility, sacrifice, endurance and so on) were not engaged. The victors now celebrate mostly their relief that they have escaped what might have been. By the Fourth of July, the glorious moment will seem a long time ago

The prospects going into the war were horrifying: the fourth largest army in the world, commanded by a thug whom we thought cunning at the time and even invested with satanic powers. Saddam was armed with chemical weapons and was working on the nuclear kind. All those dark possibilities gave the coalition, in effect, a license to kill. The killing was very well done. I hope it does not give us too much pleasure.



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